

A
GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE,
BASED MAINLY ON VARARUCHI, HEMACHANDRA
AND PURUSHOTTAMA,

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To
the Sacred Memory of my Mother

त्यक्तस्य प्राप्तमोक्षायै मात्रे निराश्रयस्य मे ।
संसारदावदग्धस्य सुतस्येयं नमस्कृतिः ॥

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is a great satisfaction to me that the first edition of this work was exhausted in a comparatively short period of time, but, although its copies were not available in the market for many years, various factors stood in the way of the speedy publication of a second edition. Now those difficulties have been overcome and an enlarged edition of the book is placed in the hands of the students of Prakrit inscriptions, for whom it was primarily intended.

The Index and the Glossary of Prakrit words have been compiled by Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A., of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. I have also received some assistance from Dr S. Bandyopadhyay and Sm. K. Bajpeyi, also of the Centre. My sincere thanks are due to all of them.

645, New Alipore,
Calcutta-53
15.8.70

D. G. Sircar

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PREFATORY NOTE

(First Edition) 1

The present work forms a sort of supplement to the Prakrit portion of the *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, to which the author originally intended to append it. As a matter of fact printing of the earlier sections was almost complete before it was decided to publish the following pages as a separate volume.

The aim of the author is principally to introduce the Prakrit language to students who have to study the epigraphs written in that language. An attempt has been made in these pages to describe Prakrit as it was known to the earlier grammarians Vararuchi, Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha, with special reference to Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the works of such medieval authorities as Hemachandra and Purushottama. The author's scheme will be clear from a glance at the notes appended to the chapters on declension and conjugation. As for instance, declension of a number of noun bases has been provided in the notes on Chapter V, in a tabular form, not only according to the system of Vararuchi, but has also been quoted from Pāli, Epigraphic Prakrit and the grammar of Hemachandra. The minor Prakrit dialects described by Hemachandra and Purushottama have been discussed either in the notes on relevant chapters or in the Appendix. If the following pages be of some use to the students of Prakrit inscriptions, the author will consider his labours amply rewarded.

Owing to inconvenience caused by domestic troubles and the abnormal situation now prevailing in the country, the author has not been able to avoid misprints and errors. For these he craves the indulgence of readers. Any suggestion for improving the usefulness of the work will be most welcome.

पर्याचार्यमन्या नोत्सृष्टाः कुर्वता मया शास्त्रम् ।
तानवलोक्येदम् प्रयत्नं कामत. पुजनाः ॥
अथवा अयमपि पुजन. प्रयति दोषार्थवाहुर्णं हृदा ।
नीचस्त्रद्विपरीतः प्रकृतिरिव साध्यसाधूनाम् ॥

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Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University
The 30th March, 1943.

DINES CHANDA SINCAR

A GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

Prakrit or the *Prākṛita-bhāṣā* indicates the common or ordinary speech, or the language of the common people. The word *prākṛita*, literally "non-artificial," points to the difference between this language and the literary or ceremonial language that was thought to be artificial. It is generally believed that Prakrit is merely a corrupt form of the Sanskrit language. This view has been found to be erroneous. The common speech of the Vedic Aryans which apparently differed in some respects from the literary language of the Samhitās (that was gradually becoming archaic) is no doubt the origin of the so-called Prakrit language. The ordinary speech of a people is liable to gradual change in course of time.¹ The language of the common people of the early Vedic age changed continually and after several centuries assumed the form which we call Prakrit. Sanskrit (*=samhitā*, the refined speech) is the reformed, literary and elegant form of the same language at an early stage of its development. This refined language was based on the speech of the cultured people (*śiṣṭa*), standardised by grammarians, the school of Pāṇini (c. 5th century B.C.) of Gandhāra having been especially responsible for its final and stereotyped form. Great religious teachers like Gautama the Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvira, as also their followers, preached their doctrines in the ordinary speech of the people. Prakrit was also the court-language in early times. These are some of the causes that led to the growth of a polished and literary form of Prakrit which is known from epigraphic, classical and grammatical literature. Pāli, the scriptural language of the Hinayāna Buddhists and Arāha-Prākṛita (usually called Arāha-Māgadhī)² the language of the early Jain Sūtras are also similar literary dialects based on Prakrit.

1 Economy of effort or tendency to simplification, progressive refinement in courts, cities, etc., softening influence of the climate and the influence of non-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan speech—these are supposed to have caused the Prakritic changes. The dative case-affix, the dual number, the imperfect perfect and aorist tenses, declensions excepting the type of the *a*-stem, conjugations excepting the type of the *bhavadī* class, etc., etc. were gradually disappearing from the common speech of the people.

2 The language of the Jain religious literature is not the same as the so-called Arāha-Māgadhī of Sanskrit dramas. The language of the Digambara canon is called Jain Śauraseni, while the non-canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras are written in what is called Jain Mahārāṣṭrī.

Philologists have divided the history of the Indo-Aryan languages into three periods, viz Old, Middle or Medieval, and New. The speech of the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period is represented by the language of the Vedas as well as the spoken dialects on which the diction of the Epics and also the highly polished (*sanskṛita*) literary language called Sanskrit were based. The Medieval or Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period is represented by Pāli and the Prakrits comprising all dialects of the age beginning with the time when certain phonetic changes and grammatic variations had produced a language different from OIA, down to the time when further phonetic changes and break up of the old grammatical tradition had led to the growth of a new type of language similar to that of the modern Indo-Aryan dialects which represent the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) period. The Prakrit period is further divided into three stages, viz Old, Medieval or Middle, and Late. The Old Prakrit stage includes Pāli, and the Prakrit of the inscriptions, of the oldest Jain *Sūtras* and of early Sanskrit dramas like those of Aśvaghoṣa. The Middle Prakrit stage is represented by the Prakrit of the classical Sanskrit dramas, of works like Hāla's *Sattasaī* and Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, and of the Prakrit grammars. Unfortunately no sufficiently old MSS of early works like those of Kālidāsa are available, and the MSS at our disposal are not quite reliable for the Prakrits. A literary dialect called Apabhraṃśa is known from the 6th and 7th centuries A D, but the Late or the full fledged Apabhraṃśa stage was reached by the ordinary colloquial speech when the Prakrit of the dramas and grammars had already become archaic as also stereotyped owing to the efforts of grammarians. The living Apabhraṃśa dialects no doubt represent the earliest stage of the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Apabhraṃśa is elaborately described by Hemachandra in the 12th century A D, but the Muslim chroniclers speak of verses in the *Lughat* (or *Jawān*) *Hindī* (i.e., Hindi) composed by the Ohandella contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd (997-1030 A D). 'Amir Khusrāw refers to Māsūd ibn Sa'īd (d. 1121 or 1190 A D) as an author of Hindi verses.

Indian grammarians have usually approached the Prakrit language from their stand on Sanskrit grammar, because their works were usually meant for the students of Sanskrit dramas who were expected to have a fair knowledge of the Sanskrit language and grammar. Prakrit words and roots were therefore divided into three classes, viz *tat-sma*, (those which have no literal difference with Sanskrit words and roots), *rad-bhava* (those which are apparently derived from Sanskrit), and *desī* or *desaja* (those which have no real or apparent relation with Sanskrit). The rules of Prakrit grammar are also shaped after the pattern of those of Sanskrit grammar.

Scholars have recognised the existence of two Indian schools of Prakrit grammarians belonging respectively to the west and the east. The former is sometimes called the School of Vālmiki and the latter that of Vararuchi. To the western school belong the *Sūtras* traditionally ascribed to the author of the *Rāmāyana* (though in its present form it is apparently a late work composed or compiled by Trivikrama), and its commentaries the *Prākṛita-vyākharana* by Trivikrama (c 13th century A D), the *Shabdhr̥tī-chandrīkā* by Lakṣmīdhara (16th century) and the *Prāṭya-rāṣikāṇa* by Supharāja.¹ The earliest known Prakrit grammar of the western school is the eighth chapter of the *Siddha-hema-subdānuśāsana* by the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A D) of Gujarat, whose *sūtras* are independent, but follow the same system. To the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians belongs the *Prākṛita-prakāśa* by Vararuchi who is traditionally known to have been one of the Nine Gems of the court of the king Vikramāditya (=Chandra Gupta II, 375-414 A D). The earliest commentaries on this work are the *Prākṛita-mañjari* by Kātyāyana (c 6th-7th century A. D.) and the *Manoramā* by the Kashmirian Bhāmaha (c 7th-8th century).² Some scholars believe that Kātyāyana was another name of Vararuchi or that he was the real author of the PP. It is however possible to suggest that the work was actually composed in the glorious days of classical Sanskrit drama about the time when the works of Kālidāsa (4th-5th century A D) were on the stage, but the first compilation of the *sūtras* may have been due to Kātyāyana. Later important works of this school are the *Prākṛita-lāmadhenu* (comm. *Prākṛita-lankāśvara*) by Lankeśvara, the last chapter of the *Sanhṣiptasūtra* by Kramadīvara, the *Prākṛita-saṅgīta* by Vasantarāja, the *Prākṛitānuśāsana* by Puruṣottama (12th century) of Bengal, the *Prākṛita-lalpataru* by Bāmaśarmā (c 17th century) of Bengal and the *Prākṛita-sarvasva* by Mārkaṇḍeya (c 17th century) of Orissa. Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the following authorities on the subject—Sākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuchi, Bhāmaha, Vasantarāja and others. The two schools of Prakrit grammarians differ from each other in many respects. The most important points of difference are that their *ganas* rarely agree and that their accounts of the Paisācī Prakrit are mutually inconsistent. The western school has its own Paisācī with several dialects and treats the Paisācī of the eastern school as an insignificant variety called the Chūlikā

¹ He flourished in the 14th century according to Winternitz, but may be later than Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita of the 17th century according to Keith though he originally (*HIL*, Vol III, Part II, p. 450, note) accepted the said date (*HSL*, p. 434).

² That Kātyāyana is earlier than Bhāmaha is not only suggested by the three interpolated chapters (PP, X-XII) recognised by the latter, but also by some *sūtras* which the two commentators read differently, cf IV, 23, V, 5; VI, 31, 94; VIII, 2, etc.

Paiśāchi, while the Paiśāchi of the eastern school has seven different dialects none of which agrees with any of its varieties described by the westerners. Some other works on Prakrit grammar are Chanda's *Prākṛita-lakṣhaṇa* (considerably old, according to scholars), Hṛishikēśa's *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇa*, Durgachārya's *Shaḍbhāṣā-rūpa-mālikā*, Śeṣakrishna's *Prākṛita-chandrikā*, Appayadikshita's *Prākṛita-mani-dīpa*, the *Prākṛita-lakṣhaṇa* ascribed to Pāṇini, the *Shaḍbhāṣā-mañjari*, the *Shaḍbhāṣā-vichāra*, the *Shaḍbhāṣā-suvantādarśa*, etc. Some of the works on Prakrit grammar are lost

Excepting certain sections of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹, the text of which is extremely corrupt and useless for practical purposes, the earliest extant Prakrit grammar is the PP. All other extant works were written when Prakrit was already a dead language. These later authors had no doubt traditions to help them; but the real authorities for their rules, so far as they added to the rules of old grammarians (many of whose works are lost), were Prakrit works (then surviving) of authors who were long since dead. They formed their rules by an analysis of the forms contained in these works. The value of the rules of the later grammarians therefore depended largely on the MS material at their disposal, and it is not impossible that in some cases at least they have been misled by wrong readings in the MSs. As the earliest Prakrit grammar, probably written in a period when Prakrit was still a living language, the PP has a value of its own. That it cannot explain all the peculiarities of the Prakrit language used in inscriptions (belonging to the period ranging from the 3rd century B C to the 4th century A D) or in classical Sanskrit dramas (whose MSs are much influenced by the traditions established by later Prakrit grammarians) seems to be due to the facts that the provincial peculiarities of Inscriptional Prakrit were possibly outside its scope and that in point of date the PP stands midway between the two classes of literature².

1 In its present form, however, the NS which mentions Mahārāshtra cannot be earlier than the 5th-6th century A.D. References to the dramatic Prakrits, the Māgadhī, Avantī, Prāchyā, Sauraseni, Ardha-Māgadhī, Bāhlikī and Dākṣhiṇātyā as bhāṣā, and the Sākāri, Abhirī, Chāṇḍālī, Sābarī, Drāmlī and Andhrī as viśbhāṣā suggests a considerably later date.

2 Hemachandra's *Asopaka* (IV, 310, *infra*, X, notes) seems to be a mistake for *Asopaka*. See *infra*, p. 97.

3 It must be admitted that some inscriptional forms can be explained by a later grammar, but not by the PP, e.g., the form *tāṣṭika* (Pallava); cf. Hem., I. 104. The conjuncts used in Asokan records as well as in the Kharoṣṭhi ins cannot be explained by the PP, but for some of them, cf. Hem., *infra*, XI, notes. The Prakrit grammars were mainly written for the dramatic Prakrits.

It is interesting to note that the earliest Prakrit grammar is only the first nine chapters of the extant PP, which have been commented on by Kātyāyana¹ Vararuchi and Kātyāyana therefore recognised only one standard form of the literary Prakrit language and ignored the regional or tribal peculiarities as such. This standard Prakrit, described by later grammarians as the Mahārāṣṭrī variety of Prakrit speech, seems to have been a sort of *Lingua Franca* more or less intelligible to the stage-audience in different parts of India. Chapters X-XI of the PP, dealing respectively with the Paisāchi and Māgadhī dialects, were added to the original work either by Bhāmaha himself or by an unknown grammarian who lived between Kātyāyana and Bhāmaha. Chapter XII of the PP which describes the Sauraseni Prakrit has not been commented on even by Bhāmaha and is thus a still later interpolation, although the existence of Sauraseni is recognised by the author of ch. X, 2 and ch. XI, 2. But these three supplementary chapters were probably added to the PP. before the time of Hemachandra who in his grammar deals not only with Mahārāṣṭrī, Sauraseni, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Paisāchi and Chūhikā Paisāchī, but also with Apabhramśa. But the conventional number of the varieties may have been actually higher about this time. The *Sāhitya-darpana* (14th century) refers to the Sauraseni, Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Prāchyā, Āvantikā, Dākṣiṇāṭyā, Śākāri, Vāhlikī, Drāviḍī, Ābhīri and Chāṇḍālī varieties of the Prakrit language, the *Prākṛita-lakṣaṇa* enumerates Udīchi, Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Mīśra-Ardha-Māgadhī, Śākābhīri, Śrāvastī, Drāviḍī, Auḍrīyā, Pāśchāṭyā, Prāchyā, Vāhlikā, Bantukā, Dākṣiṇāṭyā, Paisāchi, Āvanti and Sauraseni, while the *Prākṛita-chandrikā*, refers not only to Mahārāṣṭrī, Āvanti, Sauraseni, Ardha-Māgadhī, Vāhlikī, Māgadhī, Dākṣiṇāṭyā and Apabhramśa, but also to the 27 varieties of Apabhramśa, such as Vṛchada, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Āvantiya, Pāñchāla, Tākka, Mālava, Kaikaya, Gauḍa, Auḍra, Daiva (Haiva, Haivavata?), Pāśchāṭyā, Pāṇḍya, Kauntala, Saumbhala, Kāhnga, Prāchyā, Kārnāṭa, Kāñcha, Drāviḍa, Gaurjara, Ābhīra, Madhyadeśiya and Vaidāla. Lakṣmīdhara again says that the Paisāchi language was spoken in the Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlikā, Sakya, Nepāla, Kauntala, Sudeśa, Bhota, Gandhāra, Haiva (Haivavata?) and Kannojana (Kamboja or Kanauj?) countries. It will be seen that this regional or tribal classification is not quite satisfactory. The grammarians who lived after Vararuchi and Kātyāyana had no doubt to recognise the growing provincial or dialectic influence on Prakrit. Mis and on the pronunciation of Prakrit words and conventional traditions (not always quite scientific) were gradually taking shape. As Prakrit was then a dead language, it is no wonder that the authors are often mutually inconsistent. They are sometimes unable to

¹ See *infra*, p. 54.

² Cf. the account given by Purushottama, a contemporary of Hemachandra, in the Appendix, pp. 106 ff. Dandin's *Kāvya-darśana*, I 32-38, which probably belongs to the 7th century A.D., characterises Apabhramśa as the speech of the cowherds and others, and mentions it separately from Prakṛita of which Mahārāṣṭrī, Sauraseni, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and "similar others" are referred to. Dandin mentions Paisāchi as the *bhūta-bhāṣā* (language of the goblins).

demonstrate the actual difference between two dialects and vaguely characterise them as having *sāḥśma-bheda*. It is apparent that some late writers referred to the early stages of the modern Indian languages (including Dravidian languages more or less influenced by Indo-Aryan) as Prakrit or Apabhramśa. But primarily the regional or tribal classification seems to have been based only on some important (but not in all cases compulsory) peculiarities of a dialect. A study of the inscriptions and the modern dialects which can both be classified regionally and in many cases also tribally shows that the classification favoured by grammarians is not quite scientific and satisfactory. It is to be noted that inscriptions and dialects belonging to Mahārāṣṭra, Magadha and Śūrasena have characteristics other than those of the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhi and Śauraseni Prakrits. Note, e.g., the rule regarding the use of *ṇ* for *n*. As regards the dubious nature of some grammatical traditions, we may also point to the *ya-śruti*. It is said that when a consonant is elided, Mahārāṣṭrī usually retains the inherent *a*, but Ardha-Māgadhi makes it *ya*. This rule is repudiated not only by modern Marāṭhī, but also by inscriptions from the Mahārāṣṭra area, of *nāga=nāya* (Nanaghat), *rājā=rāyā* (Nanaghat, Basim), etc.¹ As regards the Māgadhi substitution of *r* by *l*, it has been rightly pointed out that "the modern dialects of Bihār and Bengal have not replaced every *r* with an *l*". Perhaps this rule for dramatic Māgadhi is conventional exaggeration of a marked tendency of the Eastern dialects." Some of the linguistic peculiarities attributed to the Late or Apabhramśa period or even to later date are again actually noticed in very old inscriptions, e.g. *pandarasā* for *pañchadātā* in the Hathigumphā inscription (about the end of the 1st cent. B.C.), cf. Pāli *pañnarasa*, Prakrit *pañnarasa*, *pañnaraha*, Hindi *pandrah* (**pandarahe*). Cf. also the inscriptional forms *tera*, *choda*, *athāra* (Nāgārjunikonda, 3rd cent. A.D.), etc.

It is possible to get together an enormous number of grammatical forms from the Prakrit inscriptions, to discover a system under which they can be arranged and to write a grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit after European or the orthodox Indian model. But the aim of the author of the present work is not so much to write a grammar of the Inscriptional Prakrit as to draw the attention of students to a comparative study of the Prakrit language found in inscriptions, literary works and grammars. It is hoped that the *sūtras* of the *PP* with comments on their relations with other forms of Prakrit

¹ Hem, I, 180 allows *ya-śruti* for Mahārāṣṭrī only when the preceding vowel is *a*. For *ya-śruti* in Aśokan records, cf. *bhīḥapāye*, *nīlathya*, etc. Pāli. *lāyita*, etc. The change of *j* to *y* is a Māgadhi characteristic (*infra*, XI, 4).

speech would serve this purpose fairly satisfactorily. An intelligent student would be able moreover to frame his own rules for a skeleton grammar of the language of the selected Prakrit records with the help of the word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* supplied with all of them. But the following facts would suggest that a comprehensive grammar of inscriptional Prakrit may prove rather complex to persons for whom this book is actually intended. The *Selection* represents only a fragment of the large number of Prakrit inscriptions so far discovered and does not offer all the peculiarities of inscriptional Prakrit. There are in many cases mistakes (apparent or doubtful) due to the scribe or the engraver. In many inscriptions the language is more or less influenced by Sanskrit. Some of the dialects represented (e.g., the language of the Central Asian documents) can only be treated separately. In a large number of records whose preservation is not exceptionally satisfactory, the vowel-marks and the *anusvāra* are doubtful. Early epigraphic records have usually avoided the use of double consonants and sometimes also of the *anusvāra* and of conjuncts, though all of them were apparently pronounced in reading out the epigraphs. Inscriptions written in the Kharoṣṭhī script have usually no *ā*, *i*, *ū*, etc., which were no doubt pronounced. They moreover freely modify the sound of a consonant by a sign resembling the subscript *ṣ*. A noteworthy feature of the inscriptional Prakrit is the abundant use of the *svāntika* *la* and the Dravidic name-suffixes *amṇaka* and *amṇiḍ* with occasional use of the *sāpekṣa* and *mayāna-vyamsala samāsa*. It is also to be borne in mind that the inscriptions are earlier than the *PP*. Elision of consonants is therefore not universal, but conjugational forms of various tenses, etc., are used more frequently. Transformation of the sonant into surd and of the surd into sonant in some districts where sometimes the aspirates lose their aspiration (due to Dravidian or Iranian influence) and non-aspirates are aspirated is also noticed. Cf. infra, X-XI, notes.

In these pages we have followed the text of Bhāmaha's *Munoramā* as given in the *PP*, edited by E. B. Cowell (London, 1868) and that of Kātyāyana's *Prākṛita-māṅgari* as given in the *PP* edited by B. K. Chatterjee (Calcutta, 1914). Examples have been quoted from other works, especially Pāli grammar and the Prakrit grammar of Hemachandra (Bomb. Sans. Pr. Ser., No. XL, 1936, ed. R. Pischel, Halle, 1877). Authors later than the 12th century A. D. have however been only occasionally quoted, that is to say, their treatment of a particular dialect has not been elaborately followed. As for instance, our account of Pañśāhī, is based on Vararuchi and Hemachandra and late writers like Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmasarmā have been practically ignored. No attempt has been made to make a *gana* exhaustive, as the authorities differ widely on this

point and as variations to a rule are found in literature and inscriptions. It may be noted that in referring to inscriptional words we have sometimes used double consonants instead of the single consonant of the original and have also ignored the sign resembling subscript *r* used to modify the sound of a consonant.

वरचिह्नतः प्राकृत-प्रकाशः

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।—अजविधिः ॥

Chapter I—The Vowels.

Chapters I—IX describe the standard literary Prakrit which was known to later writers as the Mahārāṣṭrī variety of Prakrit. This name refers to Mahārāṣṭra, the modern Marāṭhā country. The name Mahārāṣṭra is however not much earlier than the 5th-6th century A.D. Mahārāṣṭrī was considered to be the Prakrit *par excellence*. It is supposed to have represented the Deccan, i.e. the land to the south of the Madhyadeśa which is said to have been represented by the Sauraseni Prakrit. By convention, Mahārāṣṭrī is the language of poetry and Sauraseni that of prose. In dramas, ladies of rank converse in Sauraseni, but use Mahārāṣṭrī in songs.

आदेरतः ॥१॥ “As regards the first *a* in a word.” This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (i.e., one having authority to be implied in succeeding *Sūtras*) of which “the first” applies to all *Sūtras* of the chapter excepting S. 14 and 28, while “as regards *a*” only to *Sūtras* 2-9.

आ समृद्धयादिषु वा ॥२॥ In the words *samriddhi*, etc., *a* is optionally used for the first *a*. The *samriddhyādi-gana* is an *ākriti-gana*, i.e. a class of words that is to be determined by observing the forms used in standard works. समृद्धि=समिद्धी, सामिद्धी; प्रञ्च=प्रञ्चडं, पाञ्चडं; प्रसुप्त=प्रसुप्तं, पाशुप्तं; प्रसिद्धि=पसिद्धी; पासिद्धी; etc. For rules regarding the change of single consonants and conjuncts, see *infra*, II-IV.

इद् ईषत्-पक्-स्वप्-वैतस-व्यञ्जन-सुदङ्गाङ्गारेषु ॥३॥ In the seven words *vetasa*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *a*—optionally according to K., but compulsorily according to Bh. ईषत्=ईय, इषि, पक्=पक्, पिक्; स्वप्=सविषो, सविषो; वैतस=वेत्तिषो, वेत्तिषो (II, 8); व्यञ्जन=विञ्जणो, वञ्जणो; सुदङ्ग=सुदङ्गो, सुञ्जणो; अङ्गार=इङ्गालो, अङ्गालो ॥ Hom ललाट=णिङालं, कङ्कालं ॥ Ins. मनाक्=मिन; मध्यम=मकिन; सुदर्शन=सुदिसना; राजाङ्गत्=राजाणितो; एतस्य=एतिस; दिवस=दिविसं; बाढ=बाढि; तस्य=

विस्व ॥ Also विशतमके [=विशततमके]=विशतिमए ; चतुर्दशी=चतुर्दशिसि ; अष्ट=अष्टि , अद्य=अजि ॥ व्य of व्यजन actually belongs to the section on conjuncts (ch. III) Cf. *infra*, III, 2, notes

लोपोऽरण्ये ॥४॥ In the word *aranya*, the first *a* is elided. अरण्य=रण्यं ॥ See *infra*, S 17(a) Cf. Ins. अपि=पि, वि ; अहम्=अहर्क=हर्क ; अघस्तात्=हेह ॥ Also इति=ति . इदानीं=दाणि ; इव, एव=व , उपवसथ=जोसथ ; उदक=दग ; उपान्ते=वति ; एनम्=णं ॥ Hem अलावु, ०वू=लाउ, लाठ ॥ Ins खलु=खु(=खु), खो shows omissions of the unaccented vowel Cf also खु(=ख तु=चउ ; cf S 9) ॥

ए शय्यादिषु ॥५॥ In the words *śayyā*, etc , *e* is substituted for the first *a* शय्या=सेवा , सौन्दर्य=सुन्दरं ; लयोदश=तेरह ; उत्कर=उक्केरो ; आश्रय=अच्छेरं ; पर्यन्त=पेरन्त ; वल्लि=वेल्लो ॥ Ins. मर्यादा=मेलाता ; अन्तःपुर=अन्तेउर (Pāli अन्तेपुर ; Hem. अन्तेउर) , निषय=निषेय ॥ Note that the substitution of *e* by *u* has been ignored Of Ins उदुपान , मोक्ष्यमुत , प्रबु , भगवतु ; तुतो , सवबु , आपुणो , विवदु ; रजवर्मु ; चह्व ; अवगमुक , उचवुच ॥ Hem प्रथम=पुठुमं , पुठुमं , पठुम , खणित्त=खणित्तो , खणित्तो ॥ Cf. also नमस्कार=नमोकारो , परस्पर=परोप्परं ॥ Note that in Sanskrit *u* and *i* are shorter forms of *e* and *e* respectively, but the vowel preceding a conjunct is always short in Prakrit.

ओ वदरे देन ॥६॥ In the word *śadara*, the first *a*, together with *d* and its inherent vowel, becomes *o* वदर=वोरं ॥

लवण-नवमल्लिकयो वैन ॥७॥ Var lect. नवमल्लिक ॥ In the words *lavana* and *navamallikā* (or *navamālikā*) the first *a*, together with *v* and its vowel, becomes *o* लोणं ; योमल्लिआ (or योमाल्लिआ) ॥ Of the feature called *samprāsāna* (*infra*, notes)

मयूर-मयूखयोर्वा वा ॥८॥ In the two words, *mayūra* and *mayūkha*, the first *a* together with the syllable *yū* becomes *o* optionally मयूर=मोरो, मउरो ; मयूख=मोहो, मऊहो ॥ Ins मयूर (Aśoka) ॥

चतुर्थी-चतुर्दश्योस्तुना ॥९॥ In the two words, *chaturthī* and *chaturdaśī*, the first *a* together with the syllable *tu* becomes *o* optionally. चतुर्थी=चोत्थी, चउत्थी ; चतुर्दशी=चोदही, चउदही ॥ Ins चतुर्थ , चतुर्दशिसि ॥

अद् आतो ययादिषु ॥१०॥ In the words *yathā*, etc , *a* is optionally substituted for *ā* यथा=अह, जहा ; तथा=तह, तहा ; अस्तार=पत्थरो, पत्थारो ; प्राकृत=

पठञं, पाठञं ; तालवेण्टञं=तालवेण्टञं, तालवेण्टञं ; उत्खात=उक्खाञं, उक्खाञं . चामर=चमरं, चामरं ; प्रहार=पहारो, पहारो ; चाटु=चड्ड, चाड्ड ; दावामि=दवग्गी, दावग्गी ; खादित=खड्डञं, खाड्डञं ; संस्थापित=संठविञं, मंठाविञं , हालिक=हलिञो, हालिञो ॥

इत् सदादिषु ॥११॥ In the words *saddā*, etc., *i* is optionally substituted for *ā*. सदा=सद्, सञ्जा ; तदा=तद्, तञ्जा ; यदा=यद्, यञ्जा (cf *māra*, II, 2) ॥ Cf Ins करमिन ; विपदिपादयमीन ॥ Also नमकेरो अहुनो, अहोनो ॥ Hem मात=मेत आसारो, ऊसारो ; द्वार=देरं ॥

इत् पत् पियड-समेषु ॥१२॥ In words like *pinda* (i.e., when *i* is followed by a conjunct, according to Bh), *e* (short *e*) is optionally substituted for *i* पियड=पेयडं, पियडं , निद्रा=णेद्दा, सिद्धा , विष्णु=वेयडु, विगडु ॥ Cf S 5, note, S. 19, Ins इष्ट=यिष्टो, एव=वेव, etc are due to the same feature य=य ॥ For *e* becoming *i*, cf. *māra*, S. 84.

अत् पथि-हरिद्रा-पृथिवीषु ॥१३॥ In the three words, *pathin*, etc., *a* is substituted for *i* पथिन्=पहो ; हरिद्रा=हलद्दा (Hem हलद्दी, हलद्दा, हलिद्दी, हलिद्दा ; cf *māra*, II 30, V. 2.) ; पृथिवी=पुह्वी (Hem पुह्वी, पुढ्वी) ॥ Hem I, 88 Cf *māra*, S 19, note

इतेस्तः पदादेः ॥१४॥ In the word *iti*, when at the beginning of a sentence, *a* is substituted for the *i* which follows the *t* (i.e. *iti* becomes *ita*, cf II, 2)—optionally according to Bh इति विकसन्त्य. चिरम्=इत्थ विकसन्तीत् चिरं ॥ It is suggested that the rule does not apply to such cases as प्रियः इति=पिञ्जोति ॥ K. reads आदेः (=वाक्यादेः) instead of पदादेः ॥ Hem., I, 91.

उद् इक्षु-वृश्चिकयोः ॥१५॥ In the two words, *ikṣu* and *vriśchika*, *u* is substituted for *i* इक्षु=उक्कु ; वृश्चिक=विक्कुञो (or विक्कुञो) ॥ Hem. जहुद्रिज्ञो, जहिद्रिज्ञो ॥ Cf *māra*, S 88, notes

ओ च द्विषाकृतः ॥१६॥ *Ō* (as also *u*) is substituted in the word *dividhā* when it is used with the root *krī*. द्विषाकृत=दोहाइञं, दुहाइञं ; द्विषाक्रियते=दोहाइञद्, दुहाइञद् (VII, 8) ॥

ईत् सिंह-जिह्वयोश्च ॥१७॥ In the two words, *simha* and *jihvā*, *i* is substituted for *e* जिह्वा=जीहा ; सिंह=सीहो ॥ Notes (1) A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short मार्ग=मग्गो ॥ K has दीर्घस ह्रस्वता निम्ना संयुक्तोत्तरता यदि (on PP, IV, 1), of Hem ह्रस्वः संयोगे ॥११८४॥ (2) When the length of the vowel is retained, the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision

ईश्वर=इस्वर, ईसर ॥ (3) Sometimes a short vowel followed by a conjunct becomes long and the conjunct becomes a single consonant by partial elision. जिह्वा=जीहा । विश्वस्त=वीसत्य ; विश्वम्=वीसम्म । Ins. ऋषमदत्त=उसमदात्त ; वयं=वास ; आगल=आगाव ; चिकित्सा=चिकीट्ठा ; इन्द्र=ईद ; सप्तम=सातम ; रज्जुक=राजूक ॥ K. has हसस्यापि कचिदीर्घः । (4) When the *anustāra* is elided, it leaves a short vowel lengthened सिद्ध=सीद् ॥ Ins. सिंहल=सीहल ; सद्धवीसति , वीस ; वंश=वास ॥ This is due to the fact that *anustāra* was considered equal to a nasal consonant Hem. also सिंघो , संघारो , सिद्धत्तो ॥ etc (5) In some cases the vowel instead of being lengthened takes an *anustāra* (cf *infra*, III, 36, IV, 16) अशु=अंशु ॥

इवे लोपः ॥१७ क ॥ The *i* in *iva* is always elided. राजा इव=राआव ॥ This Sūtra is omitted by Bh

इद् ईतः पानीयादिषु ॥१८॥ In the words *pānīya*, etc. , *i* is substituted for the final *i*. पानीय=पाणिअ ; अलीक=अलिअ ; तदानीं=तआणि , करीष=करिसो , दत्तोय=तदअं ; द्वितीय=दुइअं ; गमीर=गहिरं ॥ Ins. इतिव, वितिय ॥ Cf इदानी=śauraseni दाणिं=Ins दानि (Nank) ॥

एन् नीडापीड-कीदशेदशेषु ॥१९॥ In the four words, *nīḍa*, etc. , *e* is substituted for *i* नीड=णैड' (or 'णेड') , आपीड=आनेलो (II, 16), कीदश=केरिसो ; ईदश=परिसो (Asokan Ins एदिस, देदिस, देदिस , of S 18, note) ॥ Cf Hem हरीतकी=हरदई ॥ Cf *infra*, S. 39, note

उत ओत् तुण्ड-रूपेषु ॥२०॥ In the words *tunda*, etc. , *o* (short *o* before a conjunct) is substituted for *u* (i.e. *u* followed by a conjunct, according to Bh) तुण्ड=तोण्ड' , मुक्ता=मोत्ता ; पुष्कर=पोक्करो , पुस्तक=पोत्तयो , मुण्ड=मोण्ड' ॥ Ins पोराणा ; मोखिय ; खो(=खल्लु=खल्लु) ॥ शूर्पारक=शोर्पोरय ॥ C Asian बहो ; अतिबहो ; अहोने , स्फुर=खोर ॥ Asokan उक्क=वुत्त is due to the early trait अ=व (of S 12, note) ॥ Hem. स्थल=थोरं , मूल्य=मोल्लं ॥

उलूखले ल्वा वा ॥२१॥ In the word, *ulūkhala*, *u* with the syllable *lā* becomes *o* optionally उलूखल=ओक्खल (Bh) , ओहल' (K) , उलूहल' ॥

अन् मुकुटादिषु ॥२२॥ In the words *mukuta*, etc. , *a* is substituted for the final *u* मुकुट=मरुट' ; मुकुल=मरुल' ; शुक्[क]=गदअं , शुर्वी=गरुई ; बुधिष्ठिर=जहि-दिलो ; उपरि=अवरि ॥

इत् पुरुषे रोः ॥२३॥ In the word *purusha*, *i* is substituted for the *u* following *r*. पुरुष=पुरिसो ॥

उद् ऊतो मधूके ॥२४॥ In the word *madhūka*, *u* is substituted for *ū*. मधूक=महुअं ॥ *Infra*, II, 27

अद् दुक्कुले वा लस्य द्वित्वम् ॥२५॥ In the word *dukūla*, *a* is optional] substituted (with the doubling of *l*) for *ū*. दुक्कुल=दुअल्लं, दुऊलं ॥ *Infra*, II, 2

पन् नूपुरे ॥२६॥ In the word *nūpura*, *e* is substituted for *i*. नूपुर=नेतरं ।

अतोऽत् ॥२७॥ *A* is substituted for the first *i* (but only when it is joined to a consonant) लृण=लणं, वृणा=वणा; सृत=मअं; वृद्धो=वद्धो; वृपम=वसहो; मृदु=मर; कृष्ण=कएहो ॥ The following Sūtras suggest the substitutes *i*, *u*, *ri* and *ru* for *ri*: Ins वृत्ताः=मका; इव=द्रिठ; सृग=सृग, व्यापृत=वियम्रट, etc indicate an earlier stage when the elision of the *r* inherent in *ri* was only optional Metathesis in respect of this *r* is sometimes noticed in the Kharoshthi records of Asoka. कृतकता=किट्मत; वृद्ध=वृध (cf धर्म=म्रम; प्रियदर्शी=प्रियदरशि) ॥

इद् अय्यादिषु ॥२८॥ In the words *rishi*, etc., *i* is substituted for *ri*. ऋषि=हसी; दृष्टि=दिष्टि; छष्टि=सिष्टि; शृङ्गार=सिङ्गारो; मृगाह=मिगहो; मृत्त=मिक्तो; हृदय=दिअयं; वृषिक=विंलुओ; शृगाल=सिगालो; कृषि=किसी ॥ etc Ins रिसि (Nasik) ॥

उद् अत्वादेषु ॥२९॥ In the words *ritu*, etc., *u* is substituted for *ri*. अतु=उद् (II, 7); मृगाल=मुगालो; पृथिवी=पुहवी ॥ etc Ins ऋषमदत्त=उसमदात् (Hem. उसहो, वसहो); पढवि (cf. S 18, note) ॥

अयुक्तस्य रिः ॥३०॥ The syllable *ri* is substituted for *ri* when initial and not joined to a consonant. ऋण=रिणं; ऋद=रिद्धो ॥

ऊचिद् युक्तस्यापि ॥३१॥ The syllable *ri* is sometimes substituted for *ri* even when it is joined to a consonant ईदश=एरिसो; सदश=सरिसो; तादश=तारिसो; कीदश=केरिस ॥ etc

वृक्षे वेन र्वर्वा ॥३२॥ In the word *vr̥kṣha*, the syllable *ru* is substituted for *ri* together with *v*. वृक्ष=वृक्खो ॥ According to Bh, *ru* is not substituted in the alternative. वृक्ष=वृक्खो ॥ Cf. Ins and Pali मृगुकृद्ध=महकृद्ध ॥

ल्लतः वल्लत इलिः ॥३३॥ In the word *līpta*, *li* is substituted for *ri*. वल्लत=किलितं ॥ The above rules (S 27-30) show that *ri* and *fi* are not used in Prakrit.

एत इह वेदना-देवयो ॥३४॥ In the words *vedana* and *devaya*, *i* is optionally substituted for *e*. Cf. § 5, note. वेदना=विमना, वेमना ; देव=दिमरो, देमरो ॥ Ins. एका=इका ; एका=इका ; केनित=किनु ; कले=कलि ; कुवेर=कुविरको ; एतेन=एतिना ॥ Cf also *Aśoka* एय=हेवं ; एतादृश=हेदिम , एवमेव=हेमेव (see §. 11, note) ॥

येत एत् ॥३५॥ *E* is substituted for the first *a* शैल=सेतो ; वैताम=वेतामो ; शैवत=सेवत ॥ *Au* and *ai* are not used in Prakrit. *Aśoka* स्यविर=यैर, दयोदृश=सेवस, समवय=समवैर indicate the pronunciation यहर, etc. Here also वदनामो ॥

वैत्यादिष्वह ॥३६॥ In the words *daya*, etc., *ai* is substituted for the diphthong *ai* दैत्य=ददयो ; वैत=वदतो ; भैरव=भदरय ; वैशाख=वदनाहो ; वैत्य=वदत ॥ Ins. वैशाख (*Nāṣik*), वैतिय ॥ ऐ=अइ and औ=अउ (*ins/a*, § 42) are said to be a *Mahārāṣṭrī* characteristic, not found in *Sauraseni* and *Māg-dhī*.

वैव वा ॥३७॥ In the word *deva*, *ai* is optionally substituted for the diphthong *ai*. दैव=द्वय, देव्य (*III*, 52) Here also gives दद्वय ॥

इत् सैन्यवे ॥३८॥ In the word *śaināvara*, *i* is substituted for *ai*. सैन्य=सिन्य ॥ Here शनैश्चर=मनिच्छरो , सैन्य=नेन्न, तिन्य ॥ Pāli इत्तरियं ॥

ईव धैर्ये ॥३९॥ In the word *dhairya*, *i* is substituted for *a*. धैर्य=धौर्य (*III*, 13 and 51) ॥ Ins. एका=इका, एकी ॥ Ins. तैयिक=तूयिक ; but cf. Here सौर्य=सूर्य, तौर्य , होन=दृष्ट ; पिहीन=गिरा ॥

ओतोऽद् वा प्रकोष्ठे कस्य चः ॥४०॥ In the word *prakṣhṭa*, *u* is optionally substituted for *o*, and, when the substitution takes place, *f* becomes *v*. प्रकोष्ठ=पयदी, वकोतो ॥ Note—*Medini* becomes *u* usually before a stop. Ins. पशुस्य, मोणुसरो ; आमोयाम=आमुया(या)म ; मवोयान=वयवान (*ins/a*, § 17, 18) ॥ Also एकुलीन ॥

औत औन् ॥४१॥ *O* is substituted for the first *ai*. औत=औत, औत=औत ॥ Ins. औत, औत ॥

पौरादिष्वड ॥४२॥ In the words *pura*, etc., *u* is substituted for the diphthong *au* पौर=पटरो ; पौर=पटरो ; पौर=पटरो ॥ Ins. पौर=पटरो ॥ *ins/a* (see §. 2, 1, 1, 1) ॥ पौर=पटरो (*Nāṣik*) ॥ पौर=पटरो ॥ *ins/a* may be both पटरो and पटरो ॥

आञ्च गौरवे ॥४३॥ In the word *gaurava*, & (as also *au*) is substituted for *au*.
गौरव=गारवं, गरवं ॥ Ins. पौलिन्द=पारिंद (II, 80, note) ॥

उत् सौन्दर्यादिषु ॥४४॥ In the words *sauṇḍaryā*, etc., *u* (usually followed by a conjunct) is substituted for *au* सौन्दर्य=सुन्दरं ; शौड=सुडो ; दौवारिक=दुवारिको ॥ Ins. गौलिमिक=गुलिमिक ; दौलाय=दुतियाय ॥

NOTES

Summary Prakrit has all the vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of ऋ, ॠ, ए, ऊ, ऐ and औ ॥ ए and ओ are long vowels in Sanskrit; but they are either long or short in Prakrit. They are always short before conjuncts एक ; तेज , जेज्ज , भूमि ए ज्जेज्ज ; इदो ज्जेज्ज ॥ ऋ is usually changed to रि, अ, इ or उ ॥ रिण, केरिण, तण, दिदि, पुहवी ॥ ऐ becomes ए, अइ, इ or ई ॥ केलास, वइव, सिन्धव, धीर ॥ औ becomes ओ, अउ or उ ॥ कोमुइ, पउर, सुन्दर ॥ उ becomes ओ and ओ becomes उ. पोत्तवो, सोणुत्तरो ॥ ई becomes इ; इ, ई become ए, and ए becomes इ. सेन्दूर, खेइ, इकी ॥ A long vowel followed by a conjunct becomes short, but the conjunct becomes a single consonant, if the length of the vowel is retained सगो, ईसर ॥ When a conjunct becomes a single consonant, the preceding short vowel is lengthened जीहा ॥ Elision of *anusvāra* leaves the preceding short vowel lengthened. सीह ॥ It should be noted that most of the rules of Prakrit grammar are optional, as variations are noticed in other sources. The *gāṇas* are hardly exhaustive. Some interesting features of Inscriptional Prakrit are not noticed by grammarians.

Phonetic changes Of PP, chapters I-IV, especially ch. III which deals with conjuncts. Changes in a language generally take place in the following ways. The examples are quoted from Pāli. (1) Assimilation. When two different consonantal sounds meet and cannot be easily pronounced, one of them is modified to facilitate pronunciation (e.g. वर्य=वस्म). Sometimes both the sounds are modified (e.g. लान=चान). In many cases (Progressive A.) the first letter of a conjunct is doubled (e.g. मुह=मुत्त), but in others (Regressive A.) the second letter (e.g. प्राप्पोलि=पप्पोलि). (2) Dissimilation. When there is a recurrence of the same sound or sounds formed in the same way, one of them is changed into a dissimilar sound. लाइल=जइल ; पिपीलिक=किपीलिक ; ललाट=जलाट ॥

(3) Analogy. Sometimes words are made on the analogy of other words: सुवच=सुवचो, of दुर्वच=दुर्वचो; कायेन=कायसा, of मनसा ॥ (4) Compensation. When a consonant in a word is dropped, one of the vowels is sometimes lengthened or another consonant is added to compensate the loss of accent अर्हत्=अरहा; प्रतिकूल=पटिवकूल, परिषत्=परिसा ॥ (5) Metathesis (वर्णविपर्यय, स्थितिपरिवृत्ति). Sometimes the arrangement of letters in a word is altered मराक=मकस; हृद्=रहृद् (P. दहृद्), रग्मि=रसि ॥ (6) Anaptyxis or Vowel-augmentation (विकर्ष, विप्रकर्ष, स्वरभक्ति). To separate the consonantal sounds in a compound consonant (e.g. ह्र, र्ज), sometimes a vowel is inserted. अर्हत्=अरहा महार्ह=महारह, भार्या=भरिया, आर्य=अरिय ॥ (7) Often a letter or a group of letters is substituted by another letter or group of letters (8) The change of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* (essentially of *ya* to *i* and *va* to *u*) is called *Samprasāraṇa*. भवति=होति ॥ (9) Sometimes in Prakrit आर्य=अरिय=अरिर=अह्र=ऐर=एर ॥ This metathetic feature is called *Epenthesis* which also indicates consonant-augmentation

Vowel changes in Pālī. Pālī is an ancient literary Prakrit and most of the early Pālī works belong to the same age as the inscriptions Pālī-Prakrit and epigraphic Prakrit have therefore many phonetic peculiarities in common. Vowel changes in Pālī are indicated below for easy reference and comparison ऋ=अ। वृत=मत, वृत=वत; कृषि=कसि, कृषण=कषण ॥ ऋ=इ। ऋपि=इपि, ऋण=इण, तृण=तिण ॥ ऋ=उ। ऋतु=उतु, मृदु=मुदु, वृषभ=वसभ ॥ ऋ=ए। गृह=गेह ॥ ऋ=र, व। वृक्ष=वक्ष; बृहत्=ब्रहा ॥ ऐ=इ। ऐश्वर्य=इस्तरिय ॥ ऐ=ए। मैत्री=मेत्री ॥ औ=उ। औत्सुक्य=उत्सुक्य ॥ औ=ओ। औषध=ओषध ॥ Long vowels are universally shortened before conjuncts and the *niggaḥita* (*anusvāta*) कार्य=कञ्, स्वाद्य=स्वज्ज लता=लत्त ॥ अ=ए। अस्त=एत्य; अन्तपुर=अन्तेपुर, फल्गु=फेगु शय्या=सेका ॥ अ=इ। तमिस्रा=तिमिस्सा, कस्य=कित्स ॥ अ=उ। पर्जन्य=पज्जुम, तद्य=सज्जु, उन्मच्चति=उम्मञ्जति ॥ अ=ओ। सम्मर्ष=सम्मोस ॥ आ=ए। प्रातीहार=पाटिहार ॥ इ=अ। पृथिवी=पठवी, पृथिणी=परणी ॥ इ=ए। विहिंसा=विहेसा; विश्वभू=वेस्सभू ॥ इ=उ। गैरिक=गेरुक् ॥ ई=अ। कीसीय=कोयल ॥ ई=या। तिरश्चीन=तिरचान ॥ ई=ए। कीटा=केता ॥ ई=उ। छीव=छुम ॥ उ=अ। गुरु=गरु, सुरुति=सरति ॥ उ=इ। From छु, क्षिपति ॥ उ=ओ (usually before conjuncts)। उल्का=ओक्का, पुस्तक=पोत्थक ॥ क=आ। अकृति=माकृति ॥ ऊ=उ, ई। भूय=भित्तयो,

मीयो (cf. Ins शुह) ॥ क=ओ । ऊर्ज=योज ॥ ए=अ । म्लेच्छ=मिलवत् ॥ ए=आ ।
केयूर=कयूर ॥ ए=इ (usually before conjuncts) । प्रतिवेरमक=पटिविस्तक, उद्देलापित=
उद्विलापित ॥ ए=ओ । अतिप्रगे=अतिप्पगो ॥ ओ=उ । उषोदला=उषहा ; रोह=रुह ॥

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।—अयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

Chapter II.—Single Consonants.

अयुक्तस्थानादौ ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules apply to single and non-initial consonants.

क-ख-ज-त-द-प-य-वा प्रायो लोपः ॥२॥ The nine consonants *k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* (or *b*, cf. Hem. वो वः १२३७ ; Ins दुवादस, वे, etc) when single and non-initial are usually elided. मुकुल=मठलो ; नकुल=णउल ; काक=काओ ; सागर=साओरो, नगर=णगरं. वचन=वअणं, सूची=सूई ; गज=गओ ; रजत=रअदं ; कृत=कअं, गदा=गआ ; मद=मओ ; कपि=कई, विपुल=विउलं ; नयन=णअणं ; जीव=जीअं ; दिवस=दिअहो ॥ There is no elision where the euphony is satisfied. प्रियगमन=प्रिअगमणं ; सचाप=सचावं ; अपजल=अवजरं ; अयशः=अजसो ; सबहुमान=सबहुमानं ॥ Why "single"? शक्र=सक्रो ; मार्ग=मगो ॥ Why "non-initial"? कमल=कमलं ; गन्ध=गन्धो ॥ S 7 and 20 (also 24 and 26, cf. XII, 3) provide for the change of surds into sonants. This characteristic is more frequent in inscriptions. Cf. Ins निरर्थिअ ; ह्रिदलोग ; पल्लोग ; परित्तिविह ; किछि ; अजला, अठभागिय ; अवदपेयु ; शुव ; सिभि ; मजूर ; कंजोय ; सोचये, सोचवे ; चावुदस, चोदस ; अतपतिये ; धमरइए ; कर्त्तिय ; कर्मिअ, उवासग ; उआसिअ ; आगत=अयदे ; नायलिका ; किछि ; संकुजमछे, अयरिय, पिसाजीपदक ; छिनिद, अविअ, रय, हिदमुल ; विसव ; पुजेव ॥ मालयेहि, सेसयो ; पपेस ॥ तोप=दोस ; अथा=अथा ; यम्=अं (Asokan) ॥ किंचित=किं, करणीय=गरणीय (U. Assa) ॥ Many records show the *Psāśāhi* characteristic of the change of sonant into surd (X, 8, and notes). कंदोय ; वय, निकम ; मकवतो ॥ पारिचात (from पारियात ; cf. मयूर=मजूर ; भार्यो=भारिया=भारिजा) ॥ Of *infra*, XI, notes

यमुनायां मस्य च ॥३॥ In the word *yamunā*, *m* is elided अवणा (S. 31) ॥ Hem. जैतया ॥

स्फटिक-निकष-चिकुरेषु कस्य हः ॥४॥ Var. lect. •चिकुर-शीकरेषु• ॥ In the words *sphatikā*, *nikasha* and *chikura* (also *śikara* according to K.), *k* is substi-

tuted for the non-initial *h*. फलिहो (in *fra*, S. 22); शिहरो ; चिहरो ॥ K. सीहरो ॥

Ins. स्फटिक=फालिग ॥ Cf. *infra*, S. 34.

शीकरे भः ॥५॥ According to Bh., *h* in the word *śikara* is substituted by *bh*. सीमरो ॥ K. prefers सीहरो (S. 4) and ignores this *Sūtra*

चन्द्रिकायां मः ॥६॥ In the word *chandrīkā*, *m* is substituted for *h*. चन्दिमा ॥ This is due to the influence of Sans. चन्द्रमस् ।

ऋत्वादिषु तो दः ॥७॥ In the words, *ṛtu*, etc., *d* is substituted for *t*. ऋतु=ठतु ; रजत=रअद ; आगत=माअदो ; निर्वृत्ति=निवृदो ; आवृत्ति=आठदो ; सुकृति=सुददो ॥ Note that the change of *t* and *th* respectively to *d* and *dh* is a universal Sauraseni characteristic (XII. 3). This feature is also usually noticed in inscriptions. Ins. आदक, सादबाहन, सदकणि (Nasik) ॥

प्रति-वैतल-पताकासु ङः ॥८॥ Var lect. प्रतिसर= ॥ In the words *prati* (*pratisara*, according to some Mas), *vetasa* and *patākā*, *ṛ* is substituted for *t*. पठि ; वेडिलो ; पठाआ ॥ प्रतिच्छन्दः=पठिच्छन्दो ॥ When preceded by medial *ṛi* or subscript *r*, *t* is usually changed to *ṛ* in Aśoka records. संपटिपत्ती, कटे, भुटि, पटिना । Cf. *infra*, S. 20.

वसति-भरतयोर्हः ॥९॥ In the words *vasati* and *bharata*, *h* is substituted for *t*. वसही ; भरहो ॥ Cf. Ins. भारतवर्ष=भरषवस ॥

गर्भिते णः ॥१०॥ In the word *garbhita*, *ṣ* is substituted for *t*. गर्भिमणो ॥

पेरावते अः ॥११॥ In the word *aṛāvata*, *a* is substituted for *t*. एरावतो ॥

प्रदीप्त-कदम्ब-दोहवेपु दो लः ॥१२॥ In the words *pradipta*, *kadamba* and *dohada*, *l* is substituted for *d* पलितं ; कलम्बो ; दोहलो ॥ दोहद also becomes दोहलो according to Hemachandra (of *infra*, S. 37) Cf. Asokan लिपि=दिपि ॥

गद्गदे रः ॥१३॥ In the word *gadgada*, *r* is substituted for *d*. गगरो ॥

संख्यायां च ॥१४॥ In words expressive of number, *r* is substituted for *d* एकादश = एआरह ; द्वादश = वारह (or वारह) ; त्रयोदश = तेरह ; अष्टादश = अट्टारह ॥ But the rule does not apply to conjuncts. चतुर्दश = चतरह ॥ Cf. S. 44. Ins. सप्तति = सप्तरि (*supra*, S. 7) ॥ वारस, वारसम ; सेडस, सेडस, लोदस, तेरस. तेरसम ॥ Cf. Ins. तेर, चोह, अट्टार (Guntur) ॥

पो वः ॥१५॥ *ṽ* is substituted for a single and non-initial *p* शाय = सावो,

शपथ = सवहो ॥ But *p* is usually elided (*supra*, S 2) Cf. Hem जो वः ॥ Cf. Asokan वाढम्=वढं ; विपुल = पिपुल ॥ प्रवेश = पपेस (Pallava) ॥ Of Pāṇḍi, *infra*, X, 3.

आपीडे मः ॥१६॥ In the word *āpīḍa*, *m* is substituted for *p* आनेलो ॥
Ins. सर्वप = ससम (?) ॥ Cf. *infra*, S 19, S. 28. Of Ins. कमठ = कफट ॥

उत्तरीयानीययोजो चा ॥१७॥ In the word *uttariya* and in words ending in the affix *ariya*, *y* is optionally substituted for *y*. उत्तरीय=उत्तरिज्जं, उत्तरीयं (*supra*, S. 2) , करनीय=करणिज्जं, करणीयं ॥

छायार्यं हः ॥१८॥ In the word *chhārya*, *h* is substituted for *y* according to Bh. छाद्वा ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Cf. colloq *chhāḥā* in E. Bengal.

कवन्धे यो मः ॥१९॥ Var. lect चो यः ॥ In the word *ka-bandha*, *m* (*y*, in some Mss) is substituted for *b* कवन्ध=कमन्धो (or कवन्धो) ॥ Ins एवम् = एम ॥

ढो ङः ॥२०॥ *ḍ* is substituted for a non-initial *ṭ* नट=नाढो; ङिटप=विडयो; कढ=कङ्क ॥

सदा-शकट-कौटमेपु ङः ॥२१॥ In the words *sata*, *śakata* and *kautabha*, *ḍh* is substituted for *t*. सडा , सअढो ; केढवो (S 20) ॥

स्फटिके लः ॥२२॥ In the word *sphatika*, *l* is substituted for *t* फलिहो (*supra*, S 4, S. 20, *infra*, S 20) ॥

लस्य ल ॥२३॥ *L* is usually substituted for a single non-initial *ḍ*. दाडिम्ब=डालिम्, दाडिम्, तडाव=तलाव ; बडभो=बलही ॥ K दाडिमी=दाडिमी, दाडिमी ॥ For *l* becoming *ḍ* or *ḷ* (=r), cf. Ins यमल=यमळ ; पालीक=पाडिओ ; अलिन्द=अळन्दा, महिला=महिडा ॥ See *infra*, X, notes Ins गुल, बदल ॥ NIA ताल = ताव ; ताली = तावी ॥ ङ = ङ ॥ Sans ल is usually made ङ in South India (X, n)

ढो ङः ॥२४॥ *ḍh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ṭh* (*infra*, XII, 10, note) मढ=मढं ; नढर=नढरं ; कढोर=कढोरं ॥ Ins. माढरी=माढरी ॥ Cf. Ins जढर ॥

अंकोडे ल्लः ॥२५॥ In the word *aṃkoḍa*, *ll* is substituted for *ṭh* अंकोलो ॥

फो मः ॥२६॥ *Bh* is substituted for a single non-initial *ph* शिफा=सिमा ; शेफालिका=शेमालिआ (Beng शिवलि ; colloq. शेमालिख in East Bengal) ; शफरी=समरी ॥

यथादिथु हः ॥२६का॥ According to K, in the words *yathā*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ṭh* compulsorily He suggests that S 27 is optional यथा=जहा ॥ Similarly अन्यथा, इतरथा, etc Bh has ignored this *Sūtra*

ख-घ-थ-मां हः ॥२७॥ When single and non-initial, *h* is substituted for *lh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, and *bh*, but the substitution does not take place in the five words *prahalo*, *pragghano*, *pratham*, *dhanam* (i.e., in words like *a-dhana*) and *sabbh*, according to K. Bh - मुख=मुहं, मेखला=मेहला; मेघ=मेहो; गाथा=गाहा; राधा=राहा; वधिर=वहिरौ; सभा=सहा ॥ Bh explains the word "usually" implied here from S 23 by suggesting the following examples where the rule does not apply. प्रखर=खलो; प्रखन=पलखणो, अघीर=अपीरो, अघन=अघणो, उपलब्धभाव=उवलदभावो ॥ The change of the aspirates to *h* actually indicates the elision of the non-aspirate element, e.g. ख=क+ह+अ becoming ह=ह+अ ॥ Cf. Ins. मुख=ख; परिहरेठ; महारठि ॥ Cf. गुहा=गुफा, गुम्फा=कुमा ॥ Note the Sauraseni characteristic in XII, 3, and *infra*, S 24 and 25 *gh*, *dh* and *bh*=*h* is a very early trait Cf. also Ins अघट; गधिय; सोफरि, अघापत; महुअव, अघव owing to Paisācī influence in the North West and Far South Cf. Aśoka हह=हव, हिर; हव (later हयो) ॥ हस्ती=अस्ति (later अति); नम=मह=मअ ॥ Ins. चोतमूल, संवचर ॥ Cf S 29, note

प्रथम-शिथिल-निपधेयु हः ॥२८॥ In the words, *prathama*, *śithila* and *nishadha*, *th* is substituted for *th* and *dh*. पथनो, सिथिलो (NIA बिन्हा); निपधो ॥ Ins प्रथम=पथम, पथम, औपध=ओपुध ॥

कैटभे भो वः ॥२९॥ In the word *kaṭubha*, *v* is substituted for *bh* कैटवो (Bh), कटवो (K). Note that the aspiration has only changed its place In Ins. अम्यवसत=अमवदाट, (Nauki), अम्यवसत=अमोवत, मुख=लो (अमुअ) (C. Asia), अमय=अवय (Ceylon), etc., the non-aspiration may (S 27, notes) be explained by Paisācī (foreign, i.e. Dravidian and Iranian) influence, see *infra*, ch X.

हरिद्रादीनां रो लः ॥३०॥ In the words *haridrā*, etc., *l* is substituted for *r*. हरिदा=हलदा (I, 13), नरख=नखणो; मुखर=मुहलो, शुभिष्टिर=अहिष्टिलो; मुकुमार=सोमालो (v1 सुमालो), कण्ठ=कण्ठणं, अह्वरी=अह्वली, अकार=हकारलो, किराट=चिकारो (S. 39), परिवार=कलिरा (S 36); परिव=कलिरा (S 36) ॥ The *Haridrād-gana* is an *āḍṛit-gana* (cf I 2 note) Note that the change of *r* to *l* is universal in Māgadhī (cf XI, notes) For *l* becoming *r*, cf किर (IX, 5), Ins अनारमो, दुरमाय; पारिद; योरसिधि, उपरखित (?) ॥ Note the Sanskrit grammatic convention रलयोरमेदः and forms like सोहित=रोहित, लोम=रोम, etc. It is not known which of the two forms is earlier. Cf. NIA वातर ॥ अँवर वँवर, वेरि ॥ etc

आदेश्यो जः ॥३१॥ The *adhikāra* of "non-initial" (S. 1) ends here, *J* is substituted for an initial *y* (cf. XI, 4). यञ्ज=जङ्गी (Bh.; also जङ्गी by S. 32); यशः=जसो (IV. 18) ॥ For further modifications of *y*, cf. Asokan मयूर=मयूर; यावत=भाव; विषय=वित्तव; यथा =अथा; यत्सेयुः=यत्सेयुः; अर्थाय=अथा; प्रतिपादयेयम् =प्रतिपादयेह ॥ Ins. पारिवात्र=पारिवात (cf. S. 2, note) ॥ निधय=निधेय=निधे; प्रलय=प्रवे (O. Aśa) ॥ Cf. augmentation in नातिव्य, वनामिव्य : दर्यन ॥

यश्चो लः ॥३२॥ In the word *yashī*, *l* is substituted for the first letter, i.e. *y*. लङ्गी ॥ According to K., this *Sūtra* provides for an exception (*apavāda*) to S. 31. He therefore does not recognise Bh.'s alternate form लङ्गी (S. 31).

किराते लः ॥३३॥ In the word *kirāta*, *kh* is substituted for the initial *k*. चिलातो ॥ Ins. चिलात; चिरातदत्त ॥ Cf. Tamil चेर=Sams. कैरल ॥

कुञ्जे लः ॥३४॥ Var. loc. कुञ्जे ॥ In the word *kubja* (*kufja* according to some Mas), *kh* is substituted for the initial *k*. कुञ्ज=कुञ्जो ॥ V. 1 कुञ्ज=कुञ्ज' ॥ Cf. अकफश=अखदखस (Asokan) ॥ कुनेरक=कुनिरक (Bhutiprolu) ॥ For aspiration, cf. Ins दयद=यद; दिवस = दिवस; महाराज=महरस ॥ विहित=विनिद; हुहिता=धुदा, चित्ता are due to the elision of *k*.

दौला दण्ड-दशनेषु डः ॥३५॥ In the words *dōla*, *danda* and *daśana*, *d* is substituted for the initial *d* (cf. XII, 31). डोला; उण्डो; डसणो ॥ Ins. पार्षद = पार्षद; उदार= उदार; ह्यदश=हुवाडस; षडदश=षडदस ॥ Cf. Pal. डिपिडम=देपिडमो ॥

पक्व-परिघ-परिखाड्डु फः ॥३६॥ In the words *pakva*, *pariḥa* and *parikhāḍḍu*, *ph* is substituted for the initial *p*. फसो; फलिहो; फलिहा ॥

पनसेऽपि च ॥३७॥ *P'h* is substituted for the initial *p*, also in the word *panasa* फणसो ॥

विसिन्या भः ॥३८॥ In the word *vinā*, *kh* is substituted for the initial *v*. विसिणी ॥ From the express mention of the feminine form, Bh. infers that the rule does not apply to the word *vinā*.

मम्मथे घः ॥३९॥ In the word *mamatha*, *v* is substituted for the initial *m*. मम्महो ॥

लोहले णः ॥४०॥ Var. loc. लाहले ॥ In the word *lohala*, *n* is substituted for the initial *l*. लोहलो ॥ Var. loc. लाहलो ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*. Pal. Ins. लाकल=लंगल ॥

पद्-शावक-सप्तपर्णानां छः ॥४१॥ Var. lect. षट्-शाव० ॥ In the words *śat*, *śavaka* (*śita*, according to K.) and *saptaparna*, *chh* is substituted for the initial *sh*, *s* and *s*. पट्टी=छट्टी ; परमुच=छम्मुहो ; शावक=छावको ; सप्तपर्ण=छसिपर्णो ॥ K. पदपद=छप्यभो ; शात=छाओ ॥ Cf. Ins. शक्य=सकिये, चकिये, चक्ये (Asokan) शान्तमूल=चांसमूल ; शान्तिभी=चांसिसिरी (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Or छुद्र=चुस (Pāli, Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ Cf. S. 29, note, Pāli. शव=छवो ; शाव=छापो ; शरुत्=छर्क ॥

नो णः सर्वत्र ॥४२॥ *N* is substituted for a single *n* everywhere. "Initial" is no longer implied. नदी=णई ; कणक=कणअ ; वचन=वअण ; मातृप=मायुसो ॥ But of *n* in conjuncts (IV, 17). Note that in *Pāṇichi* (X, 5), *n* is substituted for *p*. शयो सः ॥४३॥ *S* is everywhere substituted for *s* and *sh*. शब्द=सदो ; निरा=यिसा ; अ'कुश=अ'कुसो ; परह=सरहो ; वृषभ=वसहो ; कषाय=कसाअ ॥ Note that in *Māgadhi* (XI, 5), *s* is substituted for *s* and *sh*.

दशादिषु छः ॥४४॥ In the words *daśa*, etc., *h* is substituted for *s*. दश=दह ; एकादश=एआरह , द्वादश=वारह (or बारह) ; त्रयोदश=तेरह ; चतुर्दश=चउरह ; पञ्चदश=पणणरह ; षोडश=सोलह ; सप्तदश=सप्तरह ; अष्टादश=अष्टारह ॥ Cf. *supra*, S. 14. Ins. हुवाउस ; बारस ; पनरस, पनउस, पंदरस ; चोइ, चोइस, चाहुइम ; अडार, अडारस ॥ Note that some of the forms, though they look like late, actually occur in early inscriptions. Cf. also Ins. शक्तिथी=इकुसिरी ॥ धीयज्ञशालकणि=हिरयनहालकणि ॥

संज्ञायाम् वा ॥४५॥ When the word is a name, the substitution of *h* for *s* is optional. दशमुख=दहमुहो, दसमुहो , दशवल=दहवलो, दसवलो ; दशरथ=दहरहो, दसरहो ॥ Ins. दसवल ; दपलथ (the *sh* may be due to confusion with the *s* of *Māgadhi*; XI, 5) ॥

दिवसे सस्य ॥४६॥ In the word *divasa*, *h* is optionally substituted for *s*. दिवहो, दिमसो ॥ Cf. Ins. संव=हंव (Nāgārjunikonda) ॥ अभयस्य=अवयह (Oeylon) ॥ Cf. also वास=दम् ; वासी=दम् ; दिवस=चिवम् (N. W. India, and C. Asia) ॥ The C. Asian modified *ś* as in तिवस् had probably a sound like *s*.

स्नुषायां षट् ॥४७॥ In the word *snushā*, *nh* is substituted for *sh* —optionally according to K. सोरहा (Bh) ॥ सोरहा, णुसा (K) ॥ Actually however the change is of *sn* to *nh* (*infra*, III 38). *Snushā* becomes *nhushā* which again becomes *sunhā* and then *sonhā* (I, 20) metaphorically

NOTES

Summary Prakrit (i.e. what is later called *Mahāśāstrī*) has all the consonants of Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *ś*, *kh* and *ṣ* (*ṣ* is seen as member of a conjunct). *ś* and *kh* become *s*, and *ṣ* becomes *ṣ*. शैल=सेलो ; वृषभ=वसहो , वदन=वधाय ॥ *Y* at the beginning of a word become *y* (यौवन=योवण) ; but single initial consonants are usually not changed. When single and non-initial, *h*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *v* and *y* are usually elided, i.e. become represented by the remaining vowel ; but *t* and *p*, when not elided, become *ḍ* and *ṇ* respectively वदन=वधाय ; मुकुल=मउल ; सुपुरुष=सुउरिसो ॥ etc कृपा=किपा, एतेन=एदिन ॥ Of Sauraseni features in ch. XII, 3 inscriptions however show change of surds into sonants, and also of sonant- into surds- लोक=लोग ; पिशाची=पिसाळी , सुख=सुष ; व्रज=वच ॥ etc Of Paśācī features in ch. X *T* becomes *ḍ* and *ṭh* becomes *ḍh*, but sometimes *t* becomes *ḍ*, while *r* and *ḍ* both become *ḷ* प्रतिमा=पदिमा , मुकुट=मउळो ; कठोर=कठोर ; हरिश्च=हलहा . प्रदीप्त = पलित् ॥ *Kh*, *gh*, *tḥ*, *dh* and *bh* usually become *h*- मुख=मुह ; मेघ=मेहो ; गाथा=गाहा ; बधिर=बहिरो ; राघव=रासहो ॥ Note the following changes in regard to single consonants which are noticed, some frequently, but others rarely क=ḍ, भ, म, न । त=ḍ, ह, ङ, य । द=ल, र । प=व, म, फ । ट=ḍ, ल, ङ । ठ=ḍ, ल । फ=भ । म=व । र, य=ल । म=व । य, रा=ल ॥

Final consonants are usually elided See *infra*, IV 6-19.

Consonantal changes in Pālī ज=द । जित्तसा=दिगच्छा , ज्योत्स्ना=योसिना ; जम्पति=मुदम्पति (of. Sans दम्पति) ॥ च=त । चित्तसा=तित्तिच्छा ॥ त=ट । चेतक=चेटक ; प्रति=पटि ; दुक्कत=दुक्कट ॥ ḍ=ळ । खेट=खेळ , आटविक=आळविक ॥ थ=ठ । सिधिल=सठिल ॥ द=ल, ङ । दोहद, दोहद=दोहल , उदार=उळार ॥ द=य । आदित=आयित ; स्वादित=सायित ॥ य=व । अज्जुलं=तिवहुलं ; कियत्=कीव ; कुलायक=कुलावक ॥ य=व । जरायु=जलायु , पुय=पुव्व ॥ य=भ । सरयू=सरभू ॥ य=र । आयणेय=आमणेरे ॥ य=ल । यत्ति=लट्ठि ॥ य=ह । स्वयम्पति=सहम्पति , रणजय=रणजहो ॥ व=य । दाव=दाय ॥ व=प । लाव=लाप, प्रजावती=पजापती ॥ र=ल । रुद=लुद , परिच=पल्लिच ; रोम=लोम ; सुकुमार=सुखुमाल ॥ श=ळ । शान=छान ॥ The following changes are noticed क=ḍ । क=ख, य, ट, य, व (or व) । ग=क, घ । घ=ह । च=ज, त । ज=च, द, व । ट=ḍ, ङ, ल, ङ । ख=न, ङ । त=ḍ, थ, द । थ=ḍ, ठ । द=ḍ, ङ, त, य, ङ । ध=भ, ल, ह, ङ । न=ख, ल । प=क, व । फ=प । व=प, भ, न । म=घ, ह । य=अ, इ, ज, ल, व (or व) । ल=न । व=उ । श=छ, ङ । घ=छ, ङ । ह=घ, य, ॥ ङ, ङ=ळ । See *Pāliprakāśa*, p. 62 ff.

तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।—संयुक्तवर्ण-विधिः ॥

Chapter III—The Conjuncts

उपरिलोपः क ग ङ त थ य ष साम् ॥१॥ The consonants *k, g, ṅ, t, th, y, ṣ* and *s* are elided when they stand first (i.e. above) in a conjunct. The remaining letter, if not at the beginning of the word, is doubled (S. 50) and in being doubled the second and fourth letters of a *varga* take respectively the first and third letters as their upper members (S. 51). The duplication does not take place when the conjunct is at the beginning of a word (S. 50) and when it is *r* or *h* (S. 54). This rule regarding the change by elision also applies to Vararuchi's rules regarding change by substitution (S. 9) मङ्ग=मत्तं, सिक्कयक्=सित्थक्को, मुग्ग=मुद्धो; खड्ग=खग्गो, वड्ज=वज्जो, उत्पल=उप्पलं; मुद्ग=मुग्गो; सुत्त=सुत्तो, पर्याप्त=पर्यप्पत्तो, गोप्पी=गोप्पि, स्वसित=स्वसिम्मं, स्नेह=स्नेहो ॥ Cf. मुक्क (+मुक्क^१)=मुक्क ॥ Ins. सिन्हे, अजुविगिन्; पापुनात्ति ॥ शक्किप्पी=इक्कसिन् ॥ धर्माधिष्ठान=धम्मविघ्न, प्रतिष्ठापयत्ति=प्रतिस्सवेत्ति ॥ प्रतिष्ठापित्ति ॥ Cf. *infra*, XI, notes Pāl. स्सम्मिन्नत्त्व=स्सम्मिन्नत्तं, अस्सम्मि=अस्सम्मि ॥ शक्क=सक्को; पत्तिमुक्को ॥ इन्दपत्तं ॥

अधो मन थाम् ॥२॥ The consonants *m, n* and *y* are elided when they stand last (i.e. beneath) in a conjunct. The remaining letter is doubled (cf. S. 1, note) शुष्म=सोस्स; रस्मि=रस्सी; युग्म=युग्गं, वाग्मिन्=वग्गो; नम=णग्गो; सौम्य=सोम्मो, योग्य=जोग्गो, तिग्म=तिग्गं ॥ K. points out that when both S. 1 and S. 2 are applicable (as in तिग्म, नम, योग्य, etc.), S. 2 is to be followed. The *adholoपा-vidhī* is thus more binding than the *upariloपा-vidhī*. The regulation regarding *y* is modified when it is in conjunct with *r* and *h*. As regards *nm*, and *nn*, cf. S. 43 and S. 44 respectively. Ins. अफे; तफा, अस्सि (S. 34n) ॥ In Ins. *ya* in combination is sometimes elided, sometimes retained (an old trait). Sometimes it becomes *iya* (or *ia*, *eya*) or; Ins. कत्तव्य (and कत्तयन्? Cf. S. 28n), कत्तिय; उयान=उयान; रससिय; निगोह, परित्तिजित्तु, अपवियात्ता, इयीवियस्स; अत्तियायिक, अपत्तिय; अरोगिय; अरोगि, शक्किस्सुणि, मूलि, दोर्येनस्स; आननेय ॥ Cf. अर्थाय=अथा; सातवाहनिहार, साताहनिरुद्ध ॥ Beng. जित्ति ॥ Pāl. शुस्स=शुस्सो ॥ For *sm*, cf. S. 6.

सर्वत्र ल व-राम् ॥३॥ The consonants (*antastha-varṇa*, semi-rowels) *l, v* (also *b*, which is supposed to have no distinction with *v* in Prakrit) and *r* are

always elided whether they stand first or last in a conjunct, and the remaining consonant is doubled (cf. S. 1 n, S. 50ff). वल्ल=वल्ल; विहव=विक्रो; लुधक=लुद्धो; पक=पिक् (I, 3). अर्क=अक्रो; शक=सक्रो; सय=सय; तीर्थ=तिर्थ ॥ K. points out that if, of the letters *l*, *v* and *r*, there is possibility of the elision of a succeeding one, the preceding one would be saved; that is to say, when *l* and *v* are for elision, the latter would be dropped; similarly *r* would drop when *l* and *r*, or *v* and *r*, stand for elision. पल्ल=पल्ल; ग्रीहि=ग्रीही ॥ K. further points out the more binding nature of S 3; कल्य=कल्य; काव्य=कव्य ॥ Cf. शुर्वी=शुर्वी; भार्या=भारिया (Paññāhi, X, 8); आतोर्याम=अतुयान (Nāgārjunikopā, N. W. India.) ॥ Ins. भारिया; पूजयितव्या=पूजयिता; कल्याण=कल्याण, कल्याण (of Māgadhī य=य) ॥ उषान=उषान (उषान, cf. Hem., m/a, XI, notes) चतुर्णाम्=चतुर्णाम्, चतुर्णाम् ॥ आरमित्ता (and आरमिता ? Cf. S. 28, n.) हितव्या; स्मिक; परिचित्ता; तुलन्या; छवे; सदात्पन; पायमीना; एकचपरिष; सर्वसप; ने; चित्ति; चत्पार; बडस, द्वादस, बुबाडस; पितुच्छा (also Pālī); स्पष्टन ॥

दे रो वा ॥४॥ In the conjunct *dr*, the elision of *r* is optional. द्रोह=द्रोहो, द्रोहो; चन्द्र=चन्द्री, चन्द्री; रुद्र=रुद्रो, रुद्रो ॥

सर्वज्ञ-तुल्येषु अः ॥५॥ In words like *sarvajña* (i.e., words formed with *ñā* from the root *ñā*, according to commentators), *ñ* is elided, cf. S. 44. सर्वज्ञ=सर्वज्ञो; इक्षितज्ञ=इक्षितज्ञो ॥ Cf. Ins. सर्वज्ञ (Nāgārjunikopā) ॥ Cf. Sauraseni. विज्ञ=विज्ञो, विज्ञो (XII 7); सर्वज्ञ=सर्वज्ञो (XII. 8) ॥ Paññāhi. ज्ञ=ज्ञ (X, 8) ॥ Māgadhī. ज्ञ=ज्ञ according to Hemachandra (VIII, 4, 208).

अमञ्जु-अमशानयोरादेः ॥६॥ The first letter of the words *amāñju* and *amāśan* is elided मञ्जु (or मञ्जु; IV, 16); मशान ॥ Ins. अममन्=अमम(?) ॥ अममक=अममक (also Pālī); कस्मिन्; विरमिन्=वेरम ॥

मध्यह्ने हस्य ॥७॥ In the word *madhyahna*, *h* is elided. मध्यह्नयो ॥

ह-ह-क्षेण न-ल-मां स्थितिकर्म्म ॥८॥ Val. lost ह= ॥ In the conjuncts, *hn*, *hl* and *hm*, the letters *n*, and *m* are respectively written after *h* पूर्वाह्न=पूर्वाह्नो, अपराह्न=अपराह्नो; कहार=कहारं, आहार=आहारो; ब्राह्मण=ब्रह्मणो ॥ Note that K's examples are actually of *hn*, not *hn*, of S 33 Asokan ब्राह्मण=ब्रह्मण; वंमन, वामन; वमण; वमण ॥ Ins. वमन ॥ Of metathesis in S 28n, and m/a, Note

युक्तस्य ॥९॥ This is an *adhikāra-vātra* (cf. *supra*, I, 1, note), and the following rules are to be understood as supplying a substitute for a conjunct

एस्य ठः ॥१०॥ *ṭh* is substituted for the conjunct *sth*. This is a modification of S. 1. यष्टि=लङ्घी ; दष्टि=दिदी ; विष्टर=विद्वरं ॥ Cf. Ins. सेष्टे ; सेटगिरि ; तिस्तुतो (in *ra*, XI, notes) ॥ अष्ट=अठ ; निःश्लिष्टक=निसिंढव (cf. S. 24) ॥

अस्थिनि ॥११॥ In the word *asthi*, *ṭh* is substituted for *sth* (cf. S. 1) अदी ॥ Ins. अजुथित, अजुठित ॥ स्तिता ॥ Cf. निर्मन्थ=निगण्ड ॥ Pāli. ठानं ॥

स्तस्य थः ॥१२॥ *ṭh* is substituted for *st* (cf. S. 1) हस्त=हृत्थो ; समस्त=समत्थो ; स्तुति=स्तुरी (cf. S. 1, note) ; सवत्=ववथो ; कौस्तुभ=कोत्थुहो ; सस्ति=सस्थि ; वस्तु=वत्थु ॥ Ins. थंमाजुत्तरिष्ठ ॥ Pāli. परिवद्वथो ॥ छम्मिस्तत् ॥ अस्त=अत्तो ॥

न स्तम्भे ॥१३॥ In the word *stamba*, *ṭh* is not substituted for *st*. सम्भ=तम्भो ॥ For *mb*, cf. Ins. कुमिनि ॥

स्तम्भे लः ॥१४॥ In the word *stambha*, *ḷh* is substituted for *st*. लंभो ॥ Actually however the form *lhambho* is derived from the word *slambha*. Ins. ठंभ, थंभ ॥ *ṭh* for *th* in inscriptions may in some cases be due to the carelessness of the engraver.

स्थाणावहरे ॥१५॥ In the word *sthānu*, when it does not mean *Ḥara* (i. e. *Siṃha*), *ḷh* is substituted for the conjunct *sth*. स्थाणु ॥ But in the sense of *Hara*, it would be थाणु (S. 1) ॥

स्फोटके ॥१६॥ In the word *sphoṭaka*, *ḷh* is substituted for the conjunct *sth*. खोटथो ॥

यैश्चाभिमन्युषु जः ॥१७॥ *j* is substituted for *ry* and also for the conjunct *yy* in the word *śaṃyā* and *ny* in *abhimanyu*. कार्य=कजं ; शन्या=सेजा ; अभिमन्यु=अहिमज्ज ॥ For other changes of *ry*, see *Sūtras* 18-21; Pāśāṅghi. *ry*=*rya* (X, 8), Māgadhi *ry*=*yy* (XI, 7) Māgadhi *ny*=*ṇṇ* (Hem., VIII, 4, 203), cf. Sauraseni. *Kanyā*=*kaṇyā*, *lanṇā* (XII, 7); Pāśāṅghi. *lanṇā*=*laṇṇā*, *ny*, *ny*=*ṇṇ*, according to Hem (VIII, 4, 805).

तूर्य-धैर्य-सौन्दर्याश्चर्य-पर्यन्तेषु रः ॥१८॥ In the words, *tārya*, *dhairya*, *sau-*
ndarya, *dīcharya* and *pariyanta*, *r* is substituted for the conjunct *ry*. Note that *r* and *h* are never doubled (cf. S. 54 which modifies S. 50). तूरं ; धीरं ; सुन्दरं , अच्छेरं , परन्तं ॥ Cf. आश्चर्य=अच्छरियं in Sauraseni (XII, 30), Pāli, Hāthigumpha Ins. But Hem अच्छेरं, अच्छरियं, अच्छभरं, अच्छरिज्जं, अच्छरीर्यं ॥

सूर्ये वा ॥१९॥ In the word *śūrya*, *y* is optionally substituted for *ry*. सूर्यो, सूर्यो (S 17) ॥ Pāl. सुरियो ॥ Ins बूरियिक ; बुलियिक ॥ Cf. S. 20, Pāṇini, X, 8.

चौर्य-समेधु रिञ् ॥२०॥ In the words resembling *chaurya*, *riñ* (cf. vowel-augmentation, S. 69f) is substituted for *rya* चौर्य=चोरिञ् ; शौर्य=शोरिञ् ; वीर्य=वीरिञ् ॥ This is an *ākriti-gana* (cf. I, 2, note) According to K., the rule refers to *rya* preceded by a medial *au* *Bya-rya* is a universal Pāṇini's characteristic (X 8) Ins आर्य=अरिय, अमिर, ऐर, अइरक ॥

पर्यस्त-पर्याण-सोकुमार्येषु लः ॥२१॥ In the words, *pariyasta*, *pariyāṇa* and *saukūmarīyāṇa*, *ṣ* is substituted for *ry*. पल्लत्यं, पल्लायं, सोयमल्लं ॥ Pāl. पर्यस्त=पल्लकु= NIA पालकु ॥ Change of *r* to *ṣ* seems to be at the root of these instances (II, 30)

तस्य टः ॥२२॥ *T* is substituted for *ṣ* केवर्तक=केवट्ठो ; नर्तकी=नट्टे ॥

पत्तने ॥२३॥ *T* is substituted for *ṣ* in the word *pattana* पट्टणं ॥ Cf. the name of Pāṇini, capital of Bihār

न धूर्तादिषु ॥२४॥ In the words, *dhūrta*, etc., *ṣ* is not substituted for *rṣ* Bli—धूर्त=धूतो, कीर्ति=किती ; वर्तमान=वर्तमाणं, वार्ता=वर्ता, आवर्त=आवत्तो, संवर्तक=संवर्तको, निवर्तक=निवर्तको, वर्तिका=वर्तिमा, आर्त=अतो, कर्तरी=कर्तरी, मूर्ति=मुती ॥ K—वार्तिक, आनर्त ; पूर्ति, वर्तक, कर्तन, कर्तिकेय ; हर्ता ; कर्ता ; कीर्तन ; मार्तण्ड ; वर्तन ॥ Cf. NIA. काटारी ; काटन ॥ Ins वर्तमानक=वटमानक, अपहर्ता=अपहट ; कर्तिक=कटिय ; संवर्त=संवट ॥

गर्ते ङ ॥२५॥ In the word *garta*, *ṣ* is substituted for *rṣ* गट्टो ॥

गर्दभ-समर्द-वितर्दि-विहर्दिषु ङस्य ॥२६॥ In the words, *garḍabha*, *samardha*, *vitardā* and *vihardā*, *ṣ* is substituted for *ṛḍ* गट्टो, संमट्टो, विहट्टो, विहट्टो ॥ K विहर्द=विहट्टो ॥ र्द=ट्ट ; but cf. Pāl. अर्ध=अट्टो, अट्टो, अट्टो ॥

ह्य-य-यां च-छ-जाः ॥२७॥ *Ch*, *chh*, and *j* are respectively substituted for *ty*, *thy* and *dy* सल्ल=सल्लं ; निल्ल=गिल्लं ; प्रल्ल=पल्लवं । रभ्या=रच्छा ; मिम्या=मिच्छा, पभ्य=पच्छं । विद्या=विज्जा ; वैद्य=वेज्जं ॥ Ins. उयान, उयाम (infra, XI, notes) ; पल्लित्तिदु ; अविगिच्य ; छादियति ; अपत्तिय ; अत्तियामि ॥ Pāl. अत्यल्प=अत्तपो ॥ Ins अमात्य=आमत ॥

ध्य-ह्योर्धः ॥२८॥ *Jh* is substituted for *dhy* and *hy* मध्य=मज्झं ; अध्याय=अज्झाओ ; बाह्यक=वज्झओ ; गुह्यक=गुज्झओ । सल्ल=सल्लं । Pāl, Ins पतिगट्ट (Naik) । Ins सल्ल=सट्ट (Naik) ॥ अवधिय ; इलीधियत्त ॥ Pāl. ह्य=हीयो, हिप्पो ; लेह्य=लेय्यं ; उह्यते=वुट्टति, वुहति । असट्टो, अमट्टो ॥ Cf. Asokan कटय, etc.

अस्य फः ॥३५॥ *Ph* is substituted for *shp* पुष्प=पुष्पं; शप्प=तप्पं;
निष्पात=निष्पात्रो; शीष्पति=शीष्पह ॥ Cf चतुष्पथ=चतुष्पथो (Cowell, Or Pr, p 15) ॥
Ins. चतुष्पद (Asokan) ॥ Pāli वाष्प=वाष्पो ॥

स्पस्य सर्वत्र-सितस्य ॥३६॥ V. 1. स्पस्य च ॥ *Ph* is substituted for *sp* wherever it is found, i. e. at the beginning, middle or end of a word. स्पर्श=कंसो (IV, 15 ; *infra*, S. 62), स्पन्दन=कन्दनं ; स्पष्ट=कटो ; आस्पद=अफज् ॥ Of बृहत्सति=भग्नफड् (infra, IV, 30) Ins बृहत्सति (of S. 37; Pālī पुषित=कुम्भित) ॥ स्फुर=सोर (O. 12a) ॥ Hom. परोष्परं ॥ Pālī. वनप्पति । सृष्टा=पिष्टा ॥ सर्वतस्थितस्य is unnecessary in the text

सि च ॥३७॥ *Si* is also substituted for *sp*. प्रतिस्पदिन्=प्राक्सिद्धो (*supra*, I. 2) ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

वाप्येऽधुणि ह ॥३८॥ In the word *bāshpa*, meaning "a tear," *h* is substituted for *shp*. बाहो (S. 54) ॥ But वष्पो, when the word means "hot vapour",

कार्वापणे ॥३९॥ In the word *lārahāpana*, *h* is substituted for the conjunct *rah*. काहापणो (S. 54) ॥ Ins. काहापण ॥ Of एप्यय=एहय ॥ अभयस्य = अवयह ॥

अन्त-स्तं छः ॥४०॥ *Chh* is substituted for the conjuncts *sch*, *ts* and *ps* पथिम=पच्छिमं ; आधर्य=अच्छेरं ; वत्स=वच्छो ; वत्सर=वच्छरो ; लिप्ता=लिच्छा ; जुगुप्ता=जुगुच्छा ; पश्चात्=पच्छा ; कुत्सा=कुच्छा ; अम्सरा=अच्छरा ॥ For *schu* in Māgadhi, see XI, notes. (If निधय=निजय (Cowell, *Or. Pr.*, p. 12) ॥ Ins. संदधर ।

वृश्चिके छः ॥४१॥ Var. loot. च्छु (K) ॥ In the word *vrishchika*, *sch* (Bh., of, *supra*, I, 15) or *chchhu* (K) is substituted for *sch*. विच्छुओ, विच्छुओ ।

नोत्सुकोत्सवयोः ॥४२॥ In the words *utsuka* and *utsava*, *chh* is not substituted for *ts* उत्सुओ, उत्सओ (cf. S. 1 and 50), according to some Mss. also उत्सुओ ; उत्सओ ॥ Beng. उत्सव (S. 40) ॥

न्मो मः ॥४३॥ *M* is substituted for *nm*; cf. S. ७ जन्मन्=जम्मो ; जन्मय=जम्महो (*supra*, II, 30) ; जन्मय=जम्मओ (II, 31) ॥

न-श्च-पञ्चाशत्-पञ्चदशेषु णः ॥४४॥ *N* is substituted for *nn* and *ñ* and for the conjunct *ñch* in the words *pañchāśat* and *pañchadaśa*. For *ñ*, cf. S. 5, श्रवन्न=पञ्जुणयो ; गह्न=जणयो ; निज्ञान=विज्ञणार्णं ; पञ्चाशत्=पणयासा, पञ्चदश=पणरहो ॥ K निन्न=णिणार्णं ; ज्ञान=णार्णं ॥ Ins. पञ्च = पन्द (Nāgārjunikonda) ; पन्दरस (Hāthigumpha) ॥

तालवृन्ते एहः ॥४५॥ In the word *talavṛnta*, *nt* is substituted for the conjunct *nt*. तालवेण्टं (*supra*, I, 10).

मिन्दिपाले णः ॥४६॥ In the word *bhīndipāla*, *nd* is substituted for the conjunct *nd* मिण्डिपालो ॥

विहले म-हौ वा ॥४७॥ In the word *vihsala*, *bh* and *h* are optionally substituted for the conjunct *hv*. वेहमलो (*supra*, I, 12), वीहलो (S. 54) ॥ Cf. Pāli, गहमरं ॥

आत्मनि पः ॥४८॥ In the word *ātman*, *p* is optionally substituted. अप्पा । प्रप्ता (S. 2) । Cf. अप्पानो (*infra*, V 46) ॥ Cf. Ins. आत्प । आत्पनो ॥ आपुणो ॥

कमस्य ॥४९॥ *P* is substituted for the conjunct *hm* (cf. S. 2). हाकमणी= हप्पिणी ॥

शेषादेशयोद्धित्वमनावो ॥५०॥ *śeṣa* means the remaining letter of a conjunct after the elision of one of its members. *Ādesa* indicates the letter that has to be substituted for another according to injunction. Wherever, after performing an elision or substitution enjoined by a rule, a single consonant comes to represent a conjunct, this letter is always doubled. But the doubling does not take place if it is *h* or *r* (S. 54), or if it is at the beginning of a word. मुह=मुहत् (S. 1); अमि=अमगी (S. 2); मार्ग=मग्गी (S. 3), इहि=दिही (S. 1 ; S. 10) ॥ Why "not when at the beginning of a word"? लघक=लघको (S. 12); लम्भ=लम्भो (S. 11) ॥

वर्गेषु युजा पूर्वः ॥५१॥ *Yu* means the second and fourth letters of a *varṇa*. When doubling takes place (S. 50) whether in regard to the first or second member of a conjunct, wherever the single representative is an aspirate (i.e. the second or fourth letter of a *varṇa*) it is to be doubled by prefixing its own non-aspirate. In the case of others, they are themselves their duplicates. व्याख्यान=वक्खणं; अर्घ, अर्घ्य=अग्गो; मुच्छ=मुच्छा; निर्म्मर=निम्मरो; लुब्ध=लुब्धो; निर्म्मर=निम्मरो; इहि=दिही; वत्त=वत्तो (*infra*, IV, 18); विस्पर्श=विप्परिसो; निस्सार=णित्तारो ॥ Ins. तल्लसित्ता ॥

नीडाविष्णु ॥५२॥ Var. loc. नीला० ॥ In the words, *nīla* (*nīla*, according to some Mss), etc., the non-initial letter (although it is not a conjunct) is doubled नीड=णैड् (*supra*, I, 10 ; v. l. नील=णैल) ; क्षीत=क्षीत्, प्रेगन्=पेग्म ; व्याहृत=वाहितं ; अलुक्क=उल्लुक्को ; अनक=अण्णको ; वीवन=वीवणं ॥ जाजु=जायणु ॥ The expression *dvitvam=andāva* (S. 50) comes here by the *manlukaplati-niyāya*

आत्र तावयोर्म्यः ॥५३॥ Var. loc. ओर्. or ओर्. ॥ In the words, *āmra* and *āmra*, *mb* (or *v*, or *b*), is employed in the doubling (S. 50) अम्बं (or अम्ब, or अम्बं) तम्ब (or तम्बं, or तम्बं) ॥ Ins. अंब, अंबा ॥ तात्र ॥ The forms अम्बं and तम्बं are supported by Pāli Gr., Hem. (I, 84 , II, 56) and others. Cf. S. 56

न र-होः ॥५४॥ R and h are never doubled चैर्य=वीरं, तूर्य=तूरं (S 5), जिह्वा=जीहा (*supra*, I, 17, III 5); वाक्य=वाहो (S. 38) ॥

आङो ह्यस्य ॥५५॥ When *ṣi* is preceded by the preposition *ā*, its substitute *n* (S. 44) is not doubled. आङ्गा=आगा; आङ्गति=आणुती ॥ Why "when preceded by ā"? संज्ञा=सण्या; प्रज्ञा=प्रण्या ॥

न विन्दुपरे ॥५६॥ A letter immediately following an *anusvara* is not doubled Cf. S. 50 संक्रात=संकन्तो, सन्या=संफा ॥

समासे वा ॥५७॥ In a compound, the doubling is optional whether the case is of elision or substitution. नदीग्राम=गदग्रामो, राईगामो; कुटुम्बप्रकर=कुसुम्पप्ररो, कुसुम्पप्ररो; देवस्तुति=देवत्युई, देवत्युई ॥

सेवादिषु च ॥५८॥ In the words, *seva*, etc., the doubling of the non-initial consonant is optional. सेवा=सेव्वा, सेवा (K सेवा); एक=एक्कं, एक्कं; नख=एक्कखो, एहो; देव=देव्वं, दद्वं, अशिव=असिक्कं, असिक्कं; सैलोक्य=सैल्लोक्यं, सैल्लोक्यं; निहित=णिहितो, णिहितो, तृणीक=तृणिहको, तृणिहको ॥ In Bh's examples दीर्घ=दीर्घं, दीर्घं; एणि=एत्ती, राई; दुहित=दुविहको, दूहिहो, अथ=अत्तो, आलो; ईश्वर=ईत्तरो, ईसरो; विश्वास=विस्वासो, वीसासो, निश्वास=णिस्वासो, णीसासो; etc., the doubling is not actually due to this rule Cf. S. 1-3 and notes on *supra*, I, 17. Note that *anusvara* or *visarga* together with the following consonant is considered equal to a conjunct. The *visarga* (considered equal to aibilant) is elided and the following consonant is doubled In Pāli *ya* at the end of a word is often doubled सेदेय = सेत्तेय्यो ॥

विप्रकर्षः ॥५९॥ वा; लोत विकर्षः ॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (cf. *supra*, I, 1, note) regarding "the separation of conjunct consonants". This feature is usually called *avarābhakti* (vowel-augmentation) or *anaptyxis*.

क्रिष्ट-क्रिष्ट-रज-क्रिया-शार्ङ्गेषु तत्स्वरवत् पूर्वस्य ॥६०॥ In the five words *kṛiṣṭa*, etc., the conjunct consonants are dissociated and the first consonant which has no vowel of its own suffers vocalisation and becomes sounded with the original vowel क्रिष्ट=क्रिष्टिदं; क्रिष्ट=क्रिष्टिदं; रज=रज्जं, रज्जं; क्रिया=क्रिआ; शार्ङ्ग=शारङ्गो ॥

कृष्णे वा ॥६१॥ In the word *kṛiṣṇa*, the separation of the conjunct is optional कण्हो, कण्हो ॥ This optionality is supposed to be what is called *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. *Kṛiṣṇa* becomes *Kaṇho* (S. 33) when it is a proper name, but *kaṣaṇo* when the meaning of the word is "black." NIA. कान, काहाइ, कानाइ ॥

इः श्री-ही-कीत-क्लान्त-क्लेश-म्लान-स्वप्न-स्पर्श-हर्ष-हर्ष-गर्ह-गु ॥६२॥ In the eleven words *ari*, etc., the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is vocalised with the vowel : श्री=मिरी, ही=हिरी, कीत=किरीतो क्लान्त=क्लिन्तो, क्लेश=क्लिसेतो, म्लान=मिनाया स्वप्न=सिषिणो ; स्पर्श=फरिसो (cf § 36), हर्ष=हरिसो ; अर्ह=अरिहो, गर्ह=गरिहो ॥ Cf. Ins. तरिस, किलमथ, अजुविगिन ॥ अरहा, गरहा, फस्स ॥

अः क्षमा-अश्रययोः ॥६३॥ In the words *ksama* and *ashraya*, the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is sounded with a *क्षमा* (cf § 31), सलाहा (*supra*, II, 27) ॥ Cf. Ins. स्वामिक=पदामिक ॥

स्नेहे वा ॥६४॥ In the word *sneha*, the division of the conjunct is optional, but when it takes place, the first consonant is vocalised with a सणेहो, ऐहो (S 1) ॥ Pāli, Ins. सिनेहो ॥ Cf. Pāli. स्नायु=सिनेह ॥

उः पद्म-तन्वी-समेधु ॥६५॥ In the word *padma* and in the words, *tanu* etc., the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is sounded with the vowel u पद्म=पदम् (K पदुम् ; Hem also पोम्) ; तन्वी=तण्णुई ; तण्णु=तण्णुई ; पुष्पी=पुष्पई ॥ Cf. Ins. सुवे, बुवाल, बुवावस ॥ पापुनाति ॥

ज्यायामीत् ॥६६॥ In the word *jyā*, the conjunct is divided and the first consonant is vocalised with the vowel i जीआ ॥ Cf. Pāli. ज्ञा=हिय्यो, हीयो ॥

NOTES

Summary. Cf. *Phonetic changes in Notes* appended to Chapter I (*supra*, pp 14-15) Assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. are quite common in the Prakrit conjuncts. Assimilation is the commonest feature, for which see *op cit*.

A Sanskrit conjunct is represented in Prakrit by one of its members doubled. But *र*, *ह* and initial sounds are not doubled. When one member of the conjunct is a sibilant, the sibilant is elided and the remaining consonant is aspirated, and also doubled when it is non-initial. In doubling, the second and fourth letters of a *varga* take respectively the first and third letters as their partners स्कन्द=खन्दो, पुष्प=पुष्फ ; वृथिक=विच्छुयो ॥ If a semi-vowel forms part of a conjunct, it is usually elided अर्ह=अहो ; पक्=पक्को ; विन्ध्य=विज्झो ॥ Sometimes a conjunct is divided and a vowel comes in between the disjointed consonants. (Some of such cases are rare) हर्ष=हरिसो ॥ A list of Prakrit (so called Mahārāṣṭrī) conjuncts with their corresponding Sanskrit compound consonants is given below. क्क=क्क ; प्क ; क्य ; क ; क्क ; क्क ; क्क ॥ क्ख=क्ख ; प्ख ; ख्य ; क्क ; क्क ; क्क ; क्क ; क्क ॥ ग्य=ह्य ; द्द ; म ; ग्य ; म , र्ग ; ह्य ; ग्य ॥ गघ=उघ ; द्द ; म ; म ; र्घ ; र्घ ॥ द्द=द्व ; द्व ; च=च्य ; ल्य ; म ; र्घ ॥

चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।—सङ्कीर्णविधिः ॥

Chapter IV—Miscellaneous Rules

This chapter refers to some more cases of assimilation. It deals with Sandhi, elision of sounds, change of gender, the *taddhita* with a few *kṛt* affixes, augmentation of *anuvāra*, metathesis, etc

सन्धावचामञ्जलोपविशेषा बहुलम् ॥ १ ॥ Var. lect. चामञ्जलोप० (K) ॥

Ach is a *pratyāhāra* or technical term indicating the vowels. When vowels are in *sandhi* (i.e. in a state of immediate conjunction with vowels or other sounds), various kinds of change in the vowels and elision arise. *Change of Vowels in Sandhi (and Samāsa)* यमुनासुत=जडयु-
अन्, जडयाअन् (K जडयाअन्; but cf Hem.); नदीजल=यद्वजलं, यद्वजलं; सरोरुह
=सरोरुह, सररुहं; नमस्कार=यमकारो, यमोकारो; नवैश्वर्य=यवेसज्जं; सोऽयं=सोअयं,
सोअयं; वसिष्ठर्वि=वसिष्ठोसी; महेन्द्र=महिन्दो; शिरोरोम=सिरोरोओ, सिररोओ;
पवनोदित=पवणुदअन्, पवणोदअन् ॥ *Elision of Vowels.* राजकुल=राअजलं, राजलं;
सवार्द्ध=सुहर्द्धं, सुहअर्द्धं; ममार्द्ध=महर्द्धं, महअर्द्धं; पावपतन=पावजणं, पाअजणं
(VIII, 51), पावपीठ=पापीठं, पाअपीठं; चन्द्रकला=चन्द्रला, चन्दअला; सह-
कार=सहारो, सहआरो ॥ According to Bh., when a conjunct consonant foll-
ows, it is always the first of the two meeting vowels that is elided. Of
course, the elision is not compulsory. The word *bahulam* (variously)
in the *Sūtra* suggests that the changes are absolute in some cases, but
in others they admit of different forms. Bh.'s commentary is faulty.
According to K., the rule refers also to vowels representing elided
consonants. In *svara-sandhi*, the *pratyāhāra* called *ak* (i.e. the vowels
a, i, u, ṛ, and ḷ) is sometimes omitted, sometimes retained and some-
times substituted by other vowels. Sometimes a long vowel is shor-
tened. Note that Sūtras 2-5 below can be explained by S. 1 and
supra, II, 2, and may actually be unnecessary interpolations. K
says that the vowel before a conjunct is always short. Cf Ins.
मटमय, व्रतनिभ्य, अजमज; एकिक; यतोत्तिं; तायेकाये; वसअभिसित; महाधावहा;

अपबुढ ; हेवमेव ; हेवमेव ; हेमेव ; हेमेव ; महाभपाय ; मनोअतिलेक ; कयाणमेव ; इयंमन ; तपसिहसि ; सियुत्तर ; चस ; इत्तीवियत्त ; स्याथाय ; विगळवत् ; महअइरक ; पसोपग ; राजरिसि ; तबागउदपान ; सात्ताहनिहार ; वरारत्तु ; सहिटीक ; इधस ; व्योपिशसि ॥

उडुम्बरे दोलींफः ॥२५॥ In the word *udumbara*, *du* is elided. उम्बरं ॥ Cf. Ins. ओढुंबर, ओढुंबरि ॥

कालायसे यस्य वा ॥३॥ In the word *kalāyasa*, *ya* is optionally elided. कालायं, कालाअसं ॥ Pālī भोग्गलानो, कतिपयाह=कतिपाह ॥ Cf Ins नवनगर=नवनर ॥ प्रतिहाररक्षी=पटिहाररक्षी ॥ लेखहारक=लेहरय ॥ ननु, नूनम्=णं ॥

भाजने अज्य ॥४॥ In the word *bhājana*, *ja* is optionally elided भायं, भाअयं ॥

यावदाविषु वस्य ॥५॥ In the words, *yāvat*, etc., *va* is optionally elided. यावत्=जा, जाव ; तावत्=ता, ताव, पारावत्=पारावो, पारावओ ; अनुवर्त्तमान=अणुत्तन्तो, अणुवत्तन्तो ; जीवित=जीअ', जीविअ' ; एव, एव=एअ, एअ ॥ K.—आवर्त्तमान, प्रावरक, अषट ; चक्रपाक ; देवकुल ॥ आर्हातगण ॥

अन्त्यस्य हलः ॥६॥ The final consonant of a word is always elided यशस्=जशो (S. 18), नमस्=णम् (S. 19) ; सरस्=सरो ; कर्मन्=कम्मो ; यावत्=जाव ; पद्मात्=पद्मा ; मत्=मरु ; चन्द्रमस्=चन्द्रमो ; इन्द्रजित्=इन्द्रई ॥ The rule does not apply to words in composition, cf Hem., I. 11

स्त्रियामात् ॥७॥ *Ā* is substituted for the final consonant of a feminine word. सरित्=सरिआ ; प्रतिपत्=पडिअआ ; वान्=वाआ ॥ According to K., *a* is added after the final consonant वाचा, विसा ॥ But cf II. 2

रो रा ॥८॥ *Rā* is substituted for the final *r* of a feminine word. डुर=डुरा, गिर=गिरा ॥ This Sūtra is naturally omitted by K., cf S 7.

न विद्यति ॥९॥ *Ā* is not substituted for the final letter of the word *vidyāt* (although it is a feminine noun ; cf S. 7). विज्ज (S 6) ॥

शरदो दः ॥१०॥ *Da* is substituted for the final *d* of the word *śarad*. सरदो (S. 18) ॥

दिक्-प्रावृषोः सः ॥११॥ Var lect प्रावृष. सः (K) ॥ *S* is substituted for the final consonant of the words *dik* and *prāvṛṣh* दिसा । पावसो (Bh), पावसो (K), cf. S 18

मो विण्डुः ॥१२॥ *Anusvāra* is substituted for the final *m*. दृष्टम्=वच्छ' ; मद्रम्=मर्द' ॥ Even Sanskrit inscriptions and Mss. use *anusvāra* in place of the final *m* against the rules of Sanskrit grammar which allows the change only in case of *sandhi* with the following consonant. This is universal in South Indian records and Mss and is no doubt due to Prakrit influence.

अचि मञ्च ॥१३॥ When a vowel immediately follows, final *m* may be optionally retained (i e the *sandhi* is allowed optionally). फलम् अपहरति=फलं अवहरद्, फलमवहरद् ; किमेतद्=किमेदं, किंएदं ॥

नजोर्दलि ॥ १४ ॥ Var. lect नजो० (K) ॥ According to Bh., *anusvāra* as well as the final *m* is substituted for the dental and palatal nasals, *n* and *ṇ*, when a consonant follows K prefers *n* instead *ṇ*, but he speaks only of *anusvāra* and not of the final *m* K—मन्द=मर्द' ; पद्मि=पंती ॥ Bh—विन्म=विंमो, विमूको ; वन्मयीय=वंवयीय, वम्वयीयं ॥ As to the final *m*, Hem (I, 25) supports K, cf "ह-म-ण-नो व्यजने" ॥ पराङ्मुख=परंमुखो ; कञ्जुक=कञ्जुओ, वयमुख=वंमुखो ; उत्कण्ठा=उक्कठा, सन्ध्या=संम्हा ॥

वक्रादिषु ॥१५॥ In the words *vaakra*, etc, *anusvāra* is inserted as an augment before the conjunct वक्र=वंकं ; लयल=लंसं ; ह्रस्व=हंसो ; अश्रु=अंसु ; रमश्रु=रंसु, दृष्टि=दुंठी ; मस्त=मंसं, मनखिया=मणंसिया, दर्शन=दंसणं ; स्पर्श=संसो, वर्ण=वंणो, प्रतिश्रुत=पतिंश्रुदं ; अश्व=अंसो ; अभिमुक्त=अहिमुंको ॥ K शुल्क ; पूर्व, शुभ्र ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Cf Ins. पार्षद=पांसद ॥

मांसदिषु वा ॥१६॥ In the words *māmsa*, etc, the use of the *anusvāra* is optional मांस=मंसं, मांसं, कष=कदं, कद ; नूनम्=णूणं, णूण ; तस्मिन्=तदिं, तदि ॥ K मासल ; तदानी ; सम्मुख ; चमरं ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ This *Sūtra* is sometimes applied to explain the *anusvāra* optionally added to the terminations of the instr and loc plu. and the neut nom plu. etc. इच्छे=वच्छेहिं, वच्छेहि ; इच्छे=वच्छेसु, वच्छेसु ; वनानि=वणाद्, वणाद् ॥ Bh says that the rule also applies to the cases of any omission or augmentation of *anusvāra* for the sake of the metre

ययि तद्वर्गान्त्यः ॥१७॥ Var. lect. हलि० (K.) or कलि० or क्वि० ॥ The *pratyāhāra* called *yay* means the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet with the exception of *h* and the sibilants. K prefers *hal* which includes *h* in the list of consonants. [But the alternate reading *ghay* indicates the first four letters of a *varga* and *ghal* includes in this list *h* and the sibilants] When a consonant, except *h*, *ś*, *ṣh* and *s* (only *ś*, *ṣh* and *s*, according to K), follows immediately, the *anuvāsa* may optionally become the nasal of the class to which the consonant belongs. राद्धा=सद्धा, संका; राद्ध=सद्धो, संखो; विन्दु=विन्दु, विवु ॥ K refers to Sūtras 12-14 and says that this Sūtra applies only to the *cha-varga* and *ta-varga* अयं वन्द=अयवन्दो, अयं वन्दो, अयं वन्दो, अयवन्दो; इदं ठायं. इदं ठायं; इयं नदो=इयवणई, इयं नदो ॥ In the cases of *h* and the sibilants, only the *anuvāsa* is to be used. अंश=अंशो ॥

नसान्त-प्रावृट्-शरदः पुंसि ॥१८॥ Nouns ending in *n* and *s* and the words *prāvṛt* and *śarad* are to be used in the masculine gender (cf S. 6). कर्मन्=कर्मो; यशस्=यसो; प्रावृट्=प्रावसो (S. 11); शरदु=शरदो (S. 10) ॥

न शिरोनमसी ॥१९॥ But the words *śiras* and *nabhas* should remain neuter as in Sanskrit. Cf. S. 18. शिरं; णई ॥ The rule is optional according to K. There is great confusion of gender in Epigraphic Prakrit.

पृष्ठाक्षि-प्रज्ञाः स्त्रियां वा ॥२०॥ The words *prishṭha*, *akṣhi* and *prajña* may be optionally used in the feminine gender. पुत्री, पुई; अच्छी, अच्छं; पण्हा, पण्हो ॥ K. पद्मी, पद्मं ॥

ओद् अवापयोः ॥२१॥ *O* is optionally substituted for the preposition *ava* and *apa* when in composition. अवहास=ओहासो, अवहासो; अपसारित=ओसारिअं, अवसारिअं (II, 15) ॥ Cf. Ins अपोयुअ ॥

तल्ल-त्वयोर् वा-त्तणो ॥२२॥ The affixes *dā* and *tāna* are respectively substituted for the affixes *tal* and *tva* which are used in Sanskrit to form abstract nouns पीनता=पीणदा; पीनत्व=पीणत्तणं ॥ Hem. पीणत्ता, पीणत्तं, पीणिमा, पीणत्तणं ॥

क्व ऊणः ॥२३॥ Var lect क्वा त्वाः (K) ॥ *Ūna* (Bh) or *tāna* (K.) is substituted for *ktvā*, the Sanskrit affix of the indeclinable past

participle एहीत्वा=वेकृण, वेतूय; श्रुत्वा=शोकृण, श्रोतूय; कृत्वा=काकृण, कतूय; दत्त्वा=दाकृण, दातूय॥ Hem gives *tum, a, tana, ana* and *tuana*. सोतुं, भमिअ, वेतूय, काकृण, मेतुआण; also कहु (AMg.) ॥ Cf कृत्वा=करिदाणि (Māgadhī, XI, 16), करिअ, also कहुअ (Sauraseni, XII, 9-10); कातूय or कातूण (Paisācī, X, 23) ॥ Cf VII, 33. In दसयित्वा, दसयितु, दस्येति। पलितिवितु, ०जितु। अहापयितु। अधियिच्य। चिटितु, निठिति। विजितु, विजिजितु। कट्, कृता, करेता, कातूण, कातूल। वेदितु। आगाच। संनधापयिया। अभिवादेतूण। अमोमुअ। पुयइत। ठपविचं। कीनिता। पतिगय, ०गयइ। अचितयिता। पातापयिता। उदिसाय। अयइतु। वजिति। ववुतय, उवदाय। अतिवितूय। आनितु, जातून, ०य। परिणमतुन, ०मेतून ॥

तृण इर शीले ॥२४॥ *Ira* is substituted for the affix *tin* signifying habit or disposition Cf V, 31 अमिता=भमिरो, हसिता=हसिरो; गन्ता=गमिरो ॥

आन्विह्लोल्लवन्तेन्ता मतुपः ॥२५॥ Var lect आन्विअल्लोल्लवन्तेन्ता० (K.) ॥ The affixes *ālu, ulla, ulla, āla* (*valla* according to K), *vanta* and *inta* (Hem *itta*) are substituted for *matup*, the Sanskrit suffix signifying possession. But all the affixes are not known to have been used with all words ईर्षवत्=ईर्षाह्; निद्रावत्=निद्राह्; विकारवत्=विआरिह्, विआरिह् (K), मालावत्=मालाह्, धनवत्=धणिह् (K), बयालो, धनवन्तो; शब्दवत्=महालो, यौवनवत्=जोव्ययवन्तो, रोषवत्=रोषाहन्तो; प्राणवत्=प्राणाहन्तो ॥ K.—अरिअह् ॥ Hem adds *ira* and *mana*. गम्बिरो, भयमखो ॥ Here there is an interpolated section in Bh which notices a few new rules (1) *Ā* and *manta* in place of *matup* हनुमत=हणुमा, हणुमन्तो ॥ (2) Some scholars use *illa* and *ulla* in the sense of *śarshika* affixes (Pān., IV, ८, 92) पीरल्ल=पुरिह्, आत्मीय=अप्युह् ॥ (3) Instead of *lim* etc in the sense of measure (Pān., V, 2), *loddaha*, etc are used कियत्=केह, केतिअ (Hem adds केतिल, etc), यावत्=वेह, जेतिअ; तावत्=वेह, तेतिअ; एतावत्=एह, एतिअ ॥ (4) *Hurtam* is sometimes used for the affix *kr̥tvas* (Pān., V, 4, 17) though it is considered to be a provincialism. शतकृत्वस्=सअहुत् ॥ (5) The rule regarding the affix *ka* may be an original Sūtra, of. S. 25A.

स्वार्थे को वा (K) ॥२५क॥ *Ka* may be optionally added to a word without changing its meaning पय=पदुमअ (II, 2, III, 65), पदुमं ॥

विद्युत्-पीताभ्यां लः ॥२६॥ *La* is optionally affixed at the end of the words *vidyut* and *pita* without changing their meaning. विज्जू, विज्जुली (K. विज्जुला); पीअ', पीअल' ॥

पीताद्वश्च (K) ॥२६॥ According to K., *va* is also added at the end of the word *pita* without changing the meaning पीतं=पीअवं ॥

वृन्दे वो रः ॥२७॥ Var leot ०दो रः (K) ॥ In the word *vrinda*, *r* is optionally added after *v* (Bh) or *da* (K.) without altering the meaning वृन्द=वन्द', वृन्द' (Bh), वन्दर' (K.) ॥

करेष्वां रणोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिः ॥२८॥ *Sthitiparivṛtti* indicates metathesis. In the word *karoyā* (fem.), meaning a female elephant, the consonants *r* and *n* are transposed. करोर ॥

आलाने लणोः ॥२९॥ In the word *ālāna*, the consonants *l* and *n* are transposed. आलान=आलाल' ॥ Cf. Ins चर्न=चर्म; पूर्व=पुर्व; पार्षद=पर्वद; etc

बृहस्पतौ बहोर्मैओ ॥३०॥ In the word *bṛhaspati*, *bh* and *a* are respectively substituted for *b* and *h*. मअप्फई (*supra* III, 36) ॥ Note that the aspiration of the second sound has been transferred to the first. Cf. Ins बहसति (*Pabhosā, Hāthigumphā*) ॥

मलिने लिनोरिलौ वा ॥३१॥ In the word *malina*, *z* and *la* are optionally substituted respectively for *l* and *na* महलं (NIA मज्जला), मलिणं ॥

गृहे करोऽपतौ ॥३२॥ *Ghara* is used in the sense of *grāha* except when it is followed by the word *pata*. घर'; but गह्वई (K), गह्वई (Bh) ॥

दाढावयो वधुलम् ॥३३॥ The words, *dadhā*, etc., are irregularly used for *damshtrā*, etc. द'द'दाढा=दाढा; इदानी=एरिह; दुहिता=धीआ, धूदा, दूआ (K); चातुर्य=चातुलिअं (II. 30, III, 20-21), मयह्व=मयह्वरो; उत्पल=कन्दोष्ठे (K. कन्दोष्ठो), गोदमरी=गोला; ललाट=शिङ्गल (I, 3, note; II, 20, 40, IV, 28); मू=भूमआ; सङ्घि=सित्ति; नील=निहेल; वारण=दोगघष्ठे ॥ वैदुर्य=वैलुरिअं (K. वैरलिअं); उमय=अवई; उमयपारव=अवहोसारं; नूत=आहन्दो, माअन्दो ॥ K अह; मई ॥ In this connection, Cowell draws attention to the Sanskrit words चीदा, कन्दोट, निङ्गल and माकन्द ॥ All words of common speech which are used by con-

vention in different provinces, may be considered as comprehended under this rule. This *gana* is unlimited. Ins पितुक्का ; तणुवक् ; ओडिद्वो ; देह ; वंति ; कुमा ; पर ; वसवुयान ॥ Originally this rule was possibly meant to comprehend the variations noticed in the interpolated chapters X-XII

NOTES.

Summary Some cases of assimilation (1) Words like *yāvat*. यावत्=जाव, जा ॥ (2) Elision of final consonants of a word नयत्=णहं ॥ There is no hard and fast rule for *sandhi* in Prakrit (1) Final *m* of a word is always changed to *anusvāra* मुखम्=मुहं ॥ (2) *M* followed by a vowel फलम् अपहरति=फल अवहरइ, फलमवहरइ ॥ (3) *M* followed by a consonant other than *h* and the sibilants अअचन्दो, अअचन्दो ॥ (4) Augmentation and elision of *anusvāra* वक्क=वंकं ॥ मास=मंसं, मासं ॥ Words ending in *n* and those ending in *s* (excepting *nabhas* and *śvas*) and the words *prāvrsh* and *śarad* are masculine *Prishtha*, *akḥi* and *prāśna* are feminine optionally *Taddhita* affixes with a few *krit* ones — ना=दा ; त्व=तर्षा ; सत्=आलु, इक्क, उक्क, आल, इअल्ल, वन्त, इन्त, आ, मन्त ॥ वीरता=वीरदा ; वीरत्व=वीरतर्षा ; दयावत्=दयालु ; विआरवत्=विआरिल्ल, विआरुल्ल, धनवत्=धयाल्लो, धनवन्त ; रोषवत्=रोसाइन्त ; हनुमत्=हणुमा, हणुमन्त ॥ तृ=इर ॥ हसिता=हसिरो ॥ क्का=त्तण or कण ॥ Metathesis करेणू=कयेरु ; आलान=आणालं ॥ For other *krit* affixes, see ch VII

Corresponding Changes in Pāli Sandhi (Euphony) Elision of a vowel followed by a vowel अथ+एको=अथेको ; नोहि+एतं=नोहेत ; यस्स+इन्द्रियाणि=यस्सिन्द्रियाणि, जम्बु+आदीनि=जम्बादीनि, तयो+अस्सु=तयस्सु ; एसो+आलुलो=एसालुलो ॥ Occasional elision of a vowel after a dissimilar vowel चत्तारो+इमे=चत्तारोमे, पन+इमे=पनमे ॥ Compensatory lengthening of the succeeding vowel after the elision of the preceding one च+अपि=चापि ; च+उमयं=चूमयं, सदा+इदं=सदीद ; तथा+उपम=तथू-

परं ॥ And occasional lengthening of the preceding vowel. साधु+इति=साधूति; देव+इति=देवाति; विज्जु+इव=विज्जूव ॥ But इति+अस्स=इतित्स ॥ As in Sanskrit, अ, आ+इ, ई=ए; अ, आ+उ, ऊ=ओ ॥ But there are exceptions अस्तिन्द्रियानि, तथूपमं ॥ Medial *e* changed to *y* when followed by a vowel मे+अयं=म्यायं; ते+अस्स=यस्स ॥ But ने+आगत=नागत; मे+अस्थि=मस्थि ॥ Medial *o* and *u* changed into *v* when followed by a vowel क्षो+अस्स=ख्वस्स; सो+अस्स=ख्वस्स; सु+आगत=स्वागत ॥ But चत्तारोमे ॥ *Dh* sometimes changed to *da* when followed by a vowel. इध+अह=इदाह ॥ But इध+एव=इवेव ॥ *I*, *i* followed by a vowel may be changed to *y* धि+अन्नं=य्यन्नं ॥ But पचहि+अग्नेहि=पचहग्नेहि ॥ *Eva* sometimes becomes *riva* when preceded by a vowel and the vowel if long is shortened यथा+इव=यथरिव, यथेव; तथा+इव=तथरिव, तथेव ॥ *Ti* followed by a vowel is sometimes changed to *oh* इति+एत=इत्तेत ॥ A vowel followed by a vowel may sometimes remain unchanged. को+इदं=कोदमं ॥ When followed by *e* or *h*, the *niggahita* (*anusvāra*) is sometimes changed to *n* एवं+हि=एवन्हि; तं+हि=तन्हि, तंहि, तं+एव=सन्नेव ॥ When followed by a vowel, the *niggahita* becomes *m* or *d*. तं+अह=तमह; एतं+अवोच=एतदवोच ॥ *Rule* य-व-म-द-न-त-र-ल्लाभागमा. ॥ The augments *y*, *v*, *m*, *d*, *n*, *t*, *r* and *l* may intervene between two vowels मा+इदं=मायिदं; न+इमस्स=नयिमस्स; भन्ता+उदिकखति=भन्तावुदिकखति; मग्गो+अनेकायतनं=मग्गोवनेकायतनं; एक+एकं=एकमेकं, येन+इध=येनमिध, सम्मा+एव=सम्मदेव; सम्मा+अक्खात=सम्मदक्खात; इतो+आयाति=इतोनायाति; अन्न+अग्गे=अन्नतग्गे; अस्मा+इह=अस्मातिह; राजा+इव=राजरिव; सन्मि+एव=सन्मिरिव; कु+अभिब्बा=कुलभिब्बा ॥ Of course, some of the cases show re-instatement of elided consonants of the corresponding Sanskrit words, but some of the augmentations are peculiar to Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit (especially Aśokan) A vowel is sometimes shortened when followed by a consonant. भोवादी+नाम=भोवादिनाम; यथा+भावी=यथसावी ॥ A consonant after a vowel is sometimes doubled. इध+पमोदो=इधप्पमोदो ॥ The *niggahita* when followed by a consonant of a

varga is changed to the last letter of that *varga* तव्ह्+कगे=तव्हङ्गो ॥
 When a vowel follows, *g* is augmented in *puṭha*. पुथ+एव = पुथगेव ॥
G is sometimes augmented in *pā* पा+एव = एगेव ॥ When a vowel follows, *dh* is changed to *jjh* अधि+ओन्नो = अज्जोकासो ॥

Sanskrit *ktvā*=Pālī *tvā*, *ya*, *tvāna*, *tīna*, *itvā*. कृ—कृत्वा, करित्वा, कृत्वाण, कृत्यन ; चिन्त्—चिन्तय , भुञ्—भुक्षय ; वी—वेत्ता ॥ For other *krī* affixes, see Notes on ch. VII. Taddhita affixes. अ, आयन, एय्यो, इ, एर, इक, क, ता, त, य, आलु, वा, मा, मय, वी, ॥ मायघ । वेधवेर । नाविक । ओदरिक्ता । ०कृत । ०क' । मेधावी ॥ इम—पच्छिम, मज्झिम । ईय—मुचनोय । आयित्त—ध्रुववत्=ध्रुवायित्तं । ज्ञ—वेदनिभित, वेदस्थान=वेदज्ञ । तन—वेदनतनं । इत्तिक, इय, तर, तम—पापतरो, पापतरो, पापिस्सिको, पापियो, पापिहो । कर्तुं (=कृत्युच्) —द्विकर्तुं ॥ Item ईय—अम्हकेरो ; तुम्हकेरो , पाणिणीअ , अम्हेचयं ; तुम्हेचयं ; परक', पारक' , पारकेर ; राइक' , रायकेरं , अप्पखयं ॥ Of Sūtras 22, 23, 25, notes

Homachandra on Sandhi and Samāsa “दीर्घ-ह्रस्वी मियो इती [बहु-लम्]” ॥११४॥ In *amāsa*, vowels at the end of the first member may remain unchanged, or the short vowels may be long and the long ones short. The optionality does not apply to some cases सत्तावीसा । जुवइ-अणो । वारि मई, वारीयइ । सिल-सलिअ । जटण-यटं, जटणायटं ॥ “पदयोः सन्धिर्वा” ॥११५॥ Sandhi is optional. वासेसो, वासइसो ॥ It is usually disallowed in the same *pada* (cf पाओ); but sometimes allowed (cf काहिइ, काहो) ॥ “न युष्यस्यास्ते” ॥११६॥ *I* and *u* are not compounded with the following dissimilar vowel. वि-अवयासो ; बहु-अवऊओ ॥ “एदोतोः खरे” ॥ ११७॥ *E* and *o* followed by vowels do not form *sandhi*. अहो अन्दरिअ' ॥ “खरस्तोदूते” ॥ ११८॥ *Udṛita* is the vowel that is left over when the consonant associated with it is elided. An *udṛita* vowel does not form *sandhi* with the preceding vowel. The rule is optional. निता-अरो । कुम्मआरो, कुम्मारो ॥ But *sandhi* is compulsory in some cases. साता-इणो । यक्काओ ॥ “सादेः” ॥ ११९॥ The vowels of conjugational suffixes do not form *sandhi* with the following vowel. होइ इहा ॥ “तुरुच” ॥१११०॥ Vowels followed by another are usually dropped. तिजवीमो ॥ Puruṣhotama add. (IV. 10-11) two important rules ; समासि पूर्वनिपातानियमः । निपिदोऽपि पण्टीसमासः । These features are often noticed in inscriptions.

Epigraphic Prakrit. For *san-dhi*, see S 1, note and for *litrā* S. 23, note. *Taddhita*—जातिक, नातिक्य, एतक, यावतक, पनातिक्य, महालक, पारलोकिक, नवकर्मिक आचायिक, अकलिक, हिदलोक्तिक्य, अढकोमिक्य, सुल्लिक, उरसक, एकच, वाढतर, कतव्यतर, कंमतर, पखदर, पुरिम, पङ्गिम, मगिम, गजतम, दिवसि, पवनपि, इयवपि, हिदत, पालत, साधव, माढव, सोचाय, चातुदिस, लेपिटक, अपनग, छात, दाण्ड, दोर्मनस्त(स्थ?), धनवती, चिवरिक, चरित्तनो, पुडनगलते, कुटुंबिनि, धामयोर, पोत, नासिकक, निलिमातो, महिमावतो, रुपामयि, तेरन्हुक, अपावेन, अनोमम, पारिहारिक, राजक ०हितत्प, तदात्प, गामिक, पोर, जानपद, वेलायिक, दुतिय, यहिपूविक, अरोगिय, थरोगि, प्रथमदर, चातुव्वेज्ज, वेजयिक, वचनिक, गुमिक, कूथिक, नैयिक, गामेयिक ॥ Cf personal names like नाग=नागर्न, नागर्नक ॥ नागी=नागर्निका ॥

पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ।—लिङ्गविभक्त्यादेशः ॥

Chapter V—Declension of Nouns

अत ओत् सोः ॥१॥ *O* is substituted for *ru* (*rubhakti* for nom sing.) after a word ending in *a* इत्तः=वच्छो; कामः=कामो ॥ The *a* is supposed to be elided before *o* by *supra*, IV, 1 Cf. Ins, Aṣṣah. विवादः, विवादम्=विवदु ॥

जश्-शसोलोपः ॥२॥ *Jaś* (nom plu.) and (*aś* (acc. plu.) are elided after words ending in *a* इत्ताः=वच्छा (cf S 11 by which the final *a* becomes *ā*), इत्तान्=वच्छे (cf. S. 12 by which the final *a* becomes *ṛ*) ॥

अतोऽमः ॥३॥ The *a* of *am* (acc. sing.) is elided after words ending in *a*, इत्तम्=वच्छं (cf *supra*, IV, 12) ॥

टामोर्णः ॥४॥ After words ending in *a*, *na* is substituted for *tā* (inst. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). इत्तेण=वच्छेण (*infra*, S 12); इत्ताणां=वच्छाण (also वच्छाण, *supra*, IV, 16; see also *infra*, S. 11) ॥

भिसो हिं ॥५॥ Var. lect ०हिः (K) ॥ *Him* (or *hi*; cf. *supra*, IV, 16) is substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *a*. इत्ते=वच्छेहि (or वच्छेहि); cf. S. 12. Hem also gives वच्छेहिं ॥

ऊसेरा-दो-दु-हयः ॥६॥ *Ā*, *dō*, *dū* and *hi* are severally substituted for *nasi* (abl. sing.) after words ending in *a*. इत्तात्=वच्छा (S. 13), वच्छादो; वच्छादु, वच्छाहि (S. 11) ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes

भ्यसो ह्यन्तो-सुन्तो ॥७॥ *Hinto* and *sunto* are substituted for *bhyas* (abl plu.) after words ending in *a* वृद्धेभ्य=वच्छाह्यन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो ॥ S. 12 also suggests वच्छेह्यन्तो, वच्छेसुन्तो ॥ These two case-affixes are not found in Pāli and Epigraphic Prakrit. The Sanskrit abl plu. *ebhyaḥ* (sometimes also the dat plu. in the latter) is represented there by *ebhi* or *ehi* Hem prefers *tto* and *hinto* in both sing and plu., of *infra*, Notes

स्वो ङ्सः ॥८॥ *Sas* is substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after words ending in *a*. वृद्धस्य=वच्छस्व ॥

ङ्गेरेन्मी ॥९॥ *E* and *mmi* are substituted for *mi* (loc. sing.) after words ending in *a* वृद्धे=वच्छे (S. 13), वच्छमि ॥ Cf. Ins स्मि, म्मि etc.

सुपः सुः ॥१०॥ *Su* is substituted for *sup* (loc. plu.) after words ending in *a*. वृद्धेषु=वच्छेषु (S. 12) ॥ Also वच्छेषु' (IV, 16) ॥

जस-यास-ङ्गास्यं वीर्यं ॥११॥ For the final *a* of bases ending in *a*, *a* is substituted before *jas* (nom. plu.), *ias* (acc. plu.), *nasī* (abl. sing.) and *am* (gen. plu.) वृद्धा=वच्छा; वृद्धान्=वच्छा (or वच्छे; S. 12); वृद्धात्=वच्छातो, वच्छाद्, वच्छादि (S. 6), वृद्धायाम्=वच्छाय, वच्छायं (S. 4) ॥

ए च सुप्यङ्गिङ्सोः ॥१२॥ *E* is substituted for the final *a* of nouns before all the case-affixes (*sup*), except *mi* (loc. sing.) and *nas* (gen. sing.). वृद्धान्=वच्छे (S. 2), वृद्धेय=वच्छेय (S. 4), वृद्धे=वच्छेदि, वच्छेदि (S. 5), वृद्धेषु=वच्छेषु (S. 10) ॥ For the *a* in वच्छाह्यन्तो, वच्छासुन्तो (S. 7), cf. optionality indicated by the word *cha* in the Sūtra. In वच्छमि (S. 9) and वच्छस्व (S. 8) the short vowel is retained

क्वचिद् ङसि-ङ्ग्योर्लोपः ॥१३॥ In some cases, the final *a* of the noun is elided before *nasī* (abl. sing.) and *mi* (loc. sing.). वृद्धात्=वच्छा (S. 6), वृद्धे=वच्छे (S. 9) ॥ In the form of the abl. sing., we have to avoid the necessity of lengthening (S. 11), in the form of the loc. sing. we have to avoid a word like *vachchhas* The opposite is the case in *vachchhādo*, etc. and *vachchhammi*, cf. also VI, 61

इदुतोः शसो णो ॥१३॥ *No* is substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अमोन्=अग्निगणो ; वायून्=वायुणो ॥

इसो वा ॥१५॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) in nouns ending in *i* and *u*. अमोः=अग्निगणो, अग्निगणस् ; वायोः=वायुणो, वायुस् ॥ For the alternate form, cf. S. 8

जसञ्च ओ यूत्वम् ॥१६॥ Var. lect. जसञ्च वा ओत्वम् (K.) ॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *o* is substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.), and *i* and *u* for the final *i* and *u*. *No* is also optionally used without change of vowel. अमयः=अग्नीओ, अग्निगणो ; वायवः=वायुओ, वायुणो ॥ K. speaks of *o* for both *śas* and *jas* and of *a* in the place of *i* and *u*. Nom. plu. and gen. sing. अमगओ ; वायओ । अग्निगणो, वायुणो ॥ Also nom. plu. अग्नी, वाक् ॥

टा णा ॥१७॥ In the nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *ṇā* is substituted for *iā* (inst. sing.) अमिना=अग्निगणा ; वायुना=वायुणा ॥

सु-मिस्-सुप्सु दीर्घः ॥१८॥ The final *i* or *u* of such nouns is changed for its long vowel before *su* (nom. sing.), *bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sus* (loc. plu.). अमिः=अग्नी, वायुः=वाक् । अमिमिः=अग्नीहि* (or अग्नीहि) ; वायुमिः=वाक्हि* (or वाक्हि) । अमिषु = अग्नीषु ; वायुषु = वाक्षु ॥

स्त्रियां शस उदोतौ ॥१९॥ In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are substituted for *śas* (acc. plu.). मालाः=मालाउ, मालाओ ; नदीः=नदीउ, नदीओ ; वधुः=वधुउ, वधुओ ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

जसो वा ॥२०॥ In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are optionally substituted for *jas* (nom. plu.). In the alternative, they follow the rules of bases ending in *a* (S. 2). मालाः=मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ; नद्यः=नदीउ, नदीओ, नदी ॥ K ignores S. 19 and reads S. 20 as जसो वा स्त्रियाम् उदोतौ ॥ Nom. plu. मालाउ, मालाओ, माला ॥ etc

अमि ह्रस्वः ॥२१॥ In feminine nouns, the final long vowel is shortened before *am* (acc. sing.). मालाम्=मालं ; नदीम्=नदीं ; वधुम्=वधुं ॥

टा-इस्-हीनाम् इवेददातः ॥२२॥ Var. lect. टा-इस्-इस्-हीनाम् इदुददादेतः (K.) ॥ In feminine nouns, *i*, *e*, *a* and *ā* are substituted for *iā* (inst

sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (lou. sing.). नया, नयाः, नयाम्=णईह, णईए, णईअ, णईआ ॥ K. adds *nas* (abl. sing.) and *v* respectively to the list of case-affixes and that of the substitutes. नया, नयाः, नयाः, नयाम्=णईह, णईए, णईअ, णईआ, नईव ॥

नातोऽदातो ॥२३॥ But in the case of feminine nouns ending in *a*, the substitution of *a* and *ā* (S. 22) do not take place मालया, मालायाः, मालायाम्=मालाह, मालाए, मालाह (S. 20, note) ॥ Not मालाअ, मालाआ ॥

आदीतो बहुलम् ॥२४॥ *A* and *i* are irregularly interchanged as the final letter in feminine words ending in *ā* सहमाना=सहमाणा, सहमाणी, हरिषा=हलहा (*supra*, I, 13, II, 30), हलही, सर्पनया=सुप्पणहा, सुप्पणही; छाया=छाहा (*supra*, II, 18), छाही ॥

न नपुंसके ॥२५॥ The final vowel of neuter nouns is not lengthened before *su* (nom. sing.), of S. 18, 30. दधि=दहिं; मधु=महुं; हविस्=हविं ॥

इञ् जश्-यासोर् दीर्घश्च ॥२६॥ In neuter nouns, *i* is substituted for *as* (nom. plu.) and *ās* (acc. plu.) and the preceding vowel is lengthened. वनानि=वनाह; दधीनि=दहीह, मधुनि=महुह ॥ For the alternate forms वयाह, etc., cf. *supra*, IV, 16. K. also allows *i*. वयाई ॥

नामात्रणे सान्वित् दीर्घ-चिन्त्तवः ॥२७॥ When *su* (nom. sing.) is used in the sense of the vocative, the *o* (S. 1), the long vowel (S. 18) and the *anusvāra* (S. 30) are not allowed in it हे वच्छ; हे अग्नि; हे वात; हे वय; हे दहि; हे महु ॥ हे विलासिणि ॥

स्त्रियामात एत् ॥२८॥ In the vocative of feminine nouns, *s* is substituted for the final *ā* before *su* (nom. sing.) हे साले ॥ According to Bh., *s* of *su* (whose *u* is dropped by Pān, I, 3 2) is elided by *supra*, IV, 6

इदूतोर्हस्त्रः ॥२९॥ In feminine nouns, the final *i* or *ū* is shortened in the vocative हे नह; हे वहु ॥

लोर्विन्दुर्नपुंसके ॥३०॥ In neuter nouns, *anusvāra* is substituted for *su* (nom. sing.). वर्ष; दहिं; महुं ॥

अत आरः सुपि ॥३१॥ *Āra* is substituted for *ri* before all the case-affixes (*sup*) in the words ending in *ri*. अर्तु=अत्तार ॥ अत्तारो, अत्तारेण ॥ etc.

मातुरास् ॥३२॥ *Ā* is substituted for the final *ri* of the word *mātri* which is then declined like a feminine word ending in *ā*. माता=माया । मातरम्=मायम् । माता, मातुः, मातरि=मायाइ, मायाए, मायाउ (S. 23) ॥ etc.

उर् जश्-शस्-टा-जस्-सुप्सु वा ॥३३॥ *U* is optionally substituted for the final *ri* before *jas* (nom. plu.), *tas* (acc. plu.), *ṭā* (inst. sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *sup* (loc. plu.). In these cases, a word ending in *ri* becomes optionally subject to the rules for a word ending in *u*. अर्तु=भर्तारः=भर्तुणो (S. 14, 16), अत्तारा । अर्तुन्=भर्तुणो, अत्तारे । अर्तो=भर्तुणा (S. 17), अत्तारेण । अर्तुः=भर्तुणो (S. 15), अत्तारस्स । अर्तुडु=भर्तुडु, अत्तारेडु ॥ K also gives the form भर्तु for *jas* (nom. plu.) and *tas* (acc. plu.), and says that the word *bhartri* may optionally become *bhatti* before the above case-affixes

पितृ-भ्रातृ-जामातृणामरः ॥३४॥ In the words *pitri*, *bhrātri* and *jāmātri*, *ara* is substituted for *ri* before all the case-affixes. पितरम्=पित्ररं ; पिता=पित्ररेण । भ्रातरम्=भ्रात्ररं ; भ्राता=भ्रात्ररेण । जामातरम्=जामात्ररं ; जामाता=जामात्ररेण ॥ Cf. instances from Epigraphic Prakrit, *infra*, Notes

आ व खौ ॥३५॥ In the words *pitri*, *bhrātri* and *jāmātri*, *ā* is optionally substituted for *ri* before *su* (nom. sing.). पिता=पिआ, पित्रो (S. 34) ; भ्राता=भाआ, भात्रो ; जामाता=जाआआ, जामात्रो ॥

राज्ञश्च ॥३६॥ Before *su* (nom. sing.), *ā* is substituted for *an* in the word *rājan*. राजा=राआ (*supra*, II, 2) ॥ Cowell believed that the rules regarding the word *rājan* (S. 36-44), which were not found in all the Mss. he consulted, are spurious. Excepting S. 39 all the other *Sūtras* are however noticed in the versified commentary of K.

आसन्त्रणे वा विन्तुः ॥३७॥ *Anusvāra* is optionally used in the word *rājan* in the vocative. हे राजन्, हे राज (S. 27) ॥

जस-स-सं णो ॥३८॥ In the word *rājan*, *no* is substituted for *jas* (nom plu), *sas* (acc. plu) and *nas* (gen. sing.). The rule is optional according to K राजन=राजाणो (also राज्णो in some MSS of Bh and राजा according to K.) । राजः=राजाणो (also राज्णो in some MSS of Bh. and राजाणे according to K) । राजः=राज्णो, रण्णो (S 42), also राजस्व (K) ॥

सस षत् ॥३९॥ In the word *rājan*, *s* is optionally substituted for *sas* (acc. plu) राजः=राए (also राज्णो, राजाणे, राजाणो, S. 38) ॥ This rule is ignored by K. who however gives the form राजाणे ॥

आमो णं ॥४०॥ In the word *rājan*, *nam* is substituted for *ām* (gen plu). राजाम्=राजाणं (S 4, 11) ॥

दा णा ॥४१॥ In the word *rājan*, *nā* is substituted for *tā* (inst sing) राजा=राह्णा, रण्णा (S 42) ॥

कसञ्च द्वित्वं वान्त्यलोपश्च ॥४२॥ In the word *rājan*, the final consonant is either elided or doubled optionally in *nas* (gen. sing) and *tā* (inst sing) राजः=रण्णो, राज्णो; राजा=रण्णा, राज्णा ॥ K ignores *tā* (inst sing) and suggests for *nas* (gen sing) the alternate form राज्णो ॥

इद्वित्वे ॥४३॥ If the final letter is not doubled, *z* is augmented in the word *rājan* before *tā* (inst sing) and *nas* (gen sing) राजा=राह्णा, राजः=राह्णो ॥ But when the final letter is doubled, we have रण्णा, रण्णो ॥

आ णोणमोरहसि ॥४४॥ When followed by *no* and *nam*, *ā* is substituted for the *ja* of the word *rājan*, except in the case of *nas* (gen sing) राज=राजाणो; राजाम्=राजाणं ॥ But राजः=रण्णो, राज्णो ॥ For the remaining cases, the word is to be declined like a word ending in *a* राअ' । राएहि' । राआदो; राआहु; राआहि । राआहिन्तो; राआहुन्तो । राआमि; राए । राएसु; राएसु' ॥

आत्मनोऽप्याणो वा ॥४५॥ *Appāna* is optionally substituted for the word *ātman*. अप्पाणो'; also अप्पा (III, 48), अत्ता (III, 2) ॥

इत्थ-द्वित्व-वज्जं राजवदनावेशो ॥४६॥ When the substitution of *appāna* does not take place, the word *ātman* is declined in the same way as *rājan* ; but the augmentation of *२* and doubling of the final consonant (S. 42-43) are not allowed in the case of *ātman*. अत्ता, अत्ता ॥ The substitute *appāna* is declined in the same way as *vrksha*. Cowell considered this Sūtra to be spurious (cf. S 36, note), though it is found in K.

ब्रह्माद्या आत्मवत् ॥४७॥ The words *brahman*, etc., are properly declined like *ātman*. ब्रह्मन्—ब्रम्हा । ब्रम्हाणो ॥ युवन्—युवा । युवाणो ॥ अप्वन्—अव्हा । अव्हाणो ॥ etc. Bh. possibly takes *bamhāna* as an alternate form like *appāna*

For some additional rules of declension, see ch VI, 60-64 There is no dual number, and the genitive case-affix is usually employed for the dative; cf VI, 63-64 and notes.

NOTES

Summary. Declension. Bases (masc.) ending in *a* वृक्ष ॥१—
वृक्षो ॥२—वृक्षं । वृक्षे, वृक्षा ॥३—वृक्षेण । वृक्षेहि, वृक्षेहि (IV, 16) ॥
५—वृक्षादो, वृक्षाद्, वृक्षाहि, वृक्षा । वृक्षाहिन्तो, वृक्षासुन्तो, वृक्षेहिन्तो, वृक्षेसुन्तो ॥
४, ६—वृक्षस्स । वृक्षाण, वृक्षाणं (IV, 16) ॥७—वृक्षे, वृक्षस्मि । वृक्षेसु, वृक्षेसुं
(IV, 16) ॥ Voc. वृक्ष । वृक्षा ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *२*. अग्नि ॥१—अग्नी । अग्नीओ, अग्निणो, अग्गओ,
अग्गी ॥२—अग्निं । अग्निणो ॥३—अग्निणा । अग्नीहि, अग्नीहि ॥५—अग्नीदो,
अग्गीदु, अग्गीहि । अग्नीहिन्तो, अग्नीसुन्तो ॥४, ६—अग्निस्स, अग्निणो, अग्गओ ।
अग्नीणं, अग्नीण ॥७—अग्निस्मि । अग्नीसु, अग्नीसु ॥ Voc. अग्नि । अग्नीओ,
अग्निणो, अग्गओ, अग्गी ॥

Bases (masc.) ending in *५* वाकु ॥१—वाक । वाकओ, वाउणो, वाअओ,
वाक ॥२—वाउं । वाउणो ॥३—वाउणा । वाकहि, वाकहि ॥५—वाकदो, वाकदु, वाकहि ।
वाकहिन्तो, वाकसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वाउणो, वाउस्स, वाअओ । वाकणं, वाकण ॥७—
वाउस्मि । वाकसु, वाकसुं ॥ Voc. वाउ । वाउओ, वाउणो, वाअओ, वाक ॥ Voc
मासे । माताओ, माताउ, माता ॥

Bases (fem) ending in *i*. नदी ॥ १—यदी । यदीओ, यदीउ, यदी ॥
 २—यदी' । यदीओ, यदीउ, यदी ॥ ३—यदीइ, यदीअ, यदीआ, यदीए, यदीउ । यदीहिं,
 यदीहि ॥ ५—यदीदो, यदीदु, यदीहि, यदीइ, यदीए, यदीअ, यदीआ, यदीउ । यदीहिन्तो,
 यदीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—यदीइ, यदीअ, यदीआ, यदीए, यदीउ । यदीए, यदीए ॥ ७—यदीइ,
 यदीअ, यदीआ, यदीए, यदीउ । यदीसुं, यदीसु ॥ Voc. यदी । यदीओ, यदीउ, यदी ॥

Bases (fem) ending in *u* वधु ॥ १—वधु । वधुओ, वधुउ, वधु ॥ २—वधुं ।
 वधुओ, वधुउ, वधु ॥ ३—वधुइ, वधुअ, वधुआ, वधुए, वधुउ । वधुहिं, वधुहि ॥
 ५—वधुदो, वधुदु, वधुहि, वधुइ, वधुअ, वधुआ, वधुए, वधुउ । वधुहिन्तो, वधुसुन्तो ॥
 ४, ६—वधुइ, वधुअ, वधुआ, वधुए, वधुउ । वधुए, वधुए ॥ ७—वधुइ, वधुअ,
 वधुआ, वधुए, वधुउ । वधुसुं, वधुसु ॥ Voc. वधु । वधुओ, वधुउ, वधु ॥

Bases (neut) ending in *a* वन ॥ १, २—वया' । वयाइ, वयाइ,
 वयाइ ॥ ३—वयोए । वयोहिं, वयोहि ॥ ५—वयादो, वयादु, वयाहि । वयासुन्तो,
 वयोसुन्तो, वयाहिन्तो, वयोहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—वयास्स । वयाए, वयाए ॥ ७—वयो,
 वयस्मि । वयोसुं, वयोसु ॥ Voc. वया । वयाइ, वयाइ, वयाइ ॥

Bases (masc) ending in *ri*. (1) भर्तु ॥ १—भत्तारो । भत्तारा,
 भत्तुयो, भत्तु, भत्तिणो ॥ २—भत्तारं । भत्तारे, भत्तुयो, भत्तु, भत्तिणो ॥ ३—भत्तारेण,
 भत्तुणा, भत्तिणा । भत्तारेहि, भत्तारेहिं ॥ ५—भत्तारादो, भत्तारादु, भत्ताराहि ।
 भत्ताराहिन्तो, भत्तारासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—भत्तारस्स, भत्तुस्स, भत्तुयो, भत्तिणो । भत्ताराए,
 भत्ताराए ॥ ७—भत्तारे, भत्तारस्मि । भत्तारेसु, भत्तारेसुं, भत्तुसु, भत्तुसुं ॥ Voc.
 भत्तार । भत्तारा, भत्तुयो, भत्तु, भत्तिणो ॥ (2) भ्रातृ ॥ १—भाआ, भाअरो । भाअरा ॥
 २—भाअर । भाअरे ॥ ३—भाअरेण । भाअरेहिं, भाअरेहि ॥ ५—भाअरादो, भाअरादु,
 भाअराहि । भाअराहिन्तो, भाअरासुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*) ॥ ४, ६—
 भाअरस्स । भाअराए, भाअराए ॥ ७—भाअरे, भाअरस्मि । भाअरेसुं, भाअरेसु ॥
 Voc. भाअ, भाअर । भाअरा ॥

Bases (fem) ending in *ri* मातृ ॥ १—माआ । माआओ, माआउ, माआ ॥ This is to be declined exactly like माता ॥

Bases (masc) ending in *n* (1) राजन् ॥ १—राआ । राआओ, राआ ॥
 २—राअ' । राआओ, राए, राआओ ॥ ३—राइया, रइया । राएहिं, राएहि ॥ ५—राआ,
 राआदो, राआदु, राआहि । राआहिन्तो, राआसुन्तो (also with *ehinto*, *esunto*) ॥

४, ६—रादणो, रणो, राणो, राअस्स । राआणं, राआण ॥ ७—राए, राअस्मि । राएसुं, राएसु ॥ Voc. राअ, राअ' । राआणो, राआ ॥ (2) आत्मन् ॥ १—अत्ता, अप्पा, अप्पाणो । अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥ २—अत्तं, अप्पं, अप्पाणं । अप्पाणो, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥ ३—अत्तणा, अप्पाणा, अप्पाणो । अत्तेहि, अत्तेहि, अप्पेहि, अप्पेहि, अप्पाणोहिं, अप्पाणोहि ॥ ५—अत्ता, अत्तादो, अत्तादु, अत्ताहि, अप्पा, अप्पादो, अप्पादु, अप्पाहि, अप्पाणा, अप्पाणादो, अप्पाणादु, अप्पाणाहि । अत्ताहिन्तो, अत्तासुन्तो, अप्पाहिन्तो, अप्पासुन्तो, अप्पाणाहिन्तो, अप्पाणासुन्तो (also with *ahinto, esuinto*) ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तणो, अप्पस्स, अप्पणो, अप्पाणस्स । अत्ताणं, अत्ताणा, अप्पाणं, अप्पाणा, अप्पाणाणं, अप्पाणाणा ॥ ७—अत्ते, अत्तस्मि, अप्पे, अप्पस्मि, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणस्मि । अत्तेसुं, अत्तेसु, अप्पेसुं, अप्पेसु, अप्पाणोसुं, अप्पाणोसु ॥ Voc. अत्तं, अत्त, अप्पं, अप्प, अप्पाण । अत्ता, अत्ताणो, अप्पा, अप्पाणो, अप्पाणा ॥

Declension in Pālī (1) बुद्ध ॥ १—बुद्धो । बुद्धा, [बुद्धे] ॥ २—बुद्धं । बुद्धे ॥ ३—बुद्धेन, [बुद्धसा, बुद्धसो] । बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि ॥ ४—बुद्धाय, बुद्धस्स । बुद्धाणं ॥ ५—बुद्धा, बुद्धम्हा, बुद्धस्मा । बुद्धेभि, बुद्धेहि ॥ Cf. In^१ दत्ता आजीविकेभ्य. = दिना आजीविकेहि ॥ and note that dat plu and abl plu. have the same form in Sanskrit ६—बुद्धस्स । बुद्धानं ॥ १—बुद्धे, बुद्धम्हि, बुद्धस्मिं । बुद्धेसु ॥ (2) सुनि ॥ १—सुनि । सुनी, सुनयो ॥ २—सुनिं । सुनी, सुनयो ॥ ३—सुनिना । सुनीहि, सुनीमि ॥ ४, ६—सुनिस्स, सुनिनो । सुनीनं ॥ ५—सुनिना, सुनिस्मा, सुनिम्हा । सुनीहि, सुनीमि ॥ ७—सुनिस्मिं, सुनिम्हि । सुनीसु ॥ (3) भिक्खु ॥ १—भिक्खु । भिक्खू, भिक्खवो ॥ २—भिक्खु । भिक्खू, भिक्खवो ॥ ३—भिक्खुना । भिक्खुहि, भिक्खुमि ॥ ४, ६—भिक्खुनो, भिक्खुस्स । भिक्खुनं ॥ ५—भिक्खुना, भिक्खुस्मा, भिक्खुम्हा । भिक्खुहि, भिक्खुमि ॥ ७—भिक्खुस्मिं, भिक्खुम्हि । भिक्खुसु ॥ In the *i-* and *u-*stems, short vowels may be used before *su*, *nam* and *hi* Cf. also सखारं; सखारानं; अन्तु, अन्तवो, अन्तुयो, अन्तुनो; etc. (4) लता ॥ १—लता । लता, लतायो । २—लतं । लता, लतायो ॥ ३, ५—लताय । लतामि, लताहि ॥ ४, ६—लताय । लतानं ॥ ७—लताय, लतायं । लतासु ॥ (5) नदी ॥ १—नदी । नदी, नदियो, नब्बो ॥ २—नदिं, नदियं । नदी, नदियो, नज्जो ॥ ३, ५—नदिया, नब्बा, [नद्या] । नदीमि, नदीहि ॥ ४, ६—नदिया, नज्जा, [नद्या] । नदीनं, [नदीयानं] ॥ ७—नदिया, नब्बा, नब्बं । नदियं, [नद्यं] । नदीसु ॥ (6) वधू ॥ १—वधू । वधू, वधूयो । २—

वधू' । वधू, वधुसो ॥ ३, ५—वधुया । वधूमि, वधूहि ॥ ४, ६—वधूया । वधून् ॥ ७—
वधुया, वधुयं । वधुसु ॥ (7) मातृ ॥ १—माता । माता, मातरो ॥ २—मातरं । मातरे, मातरो ॥
३, ५—मातरा, मातृया, मात्सा or मत्सा । मातरेहि, मातरेमि, मातृहि, मातृमि ॥
४, ६—मातु, मातृया, मात्सा । मातरान्, मातानं, मातून्, मातून् ॥ ७—मातरि, मातृया,
मात्सा, मातृयं, मात्सं or मत्सं । मातरेसु, मातृसु ॥ (8) कर्तृ ॥ १—कर्ता । कर्तारो ॥
२—कर्तारं । कर्तारो, कर्तारे ॥ ३, ५—कर्तारा, कर्तुना । कर्तारेहि, कर्तारेमि ॥ ४, ६—
कर्तु, कर्तुनो, कर्तुस्स । कर्तारानं, कर्तानं, कर्तून् ॥ १—कर्तरि । कर्तारेसु, कर्तुसु ॥
(9) आत्मन् ॥ १—अत्ता । अत्तानो, [अत्ता] ॥ २—अत्तं, अत्तानं । अत्तानो, [अत्ते] ॥
३—अत्तना, अत्तेन । अत्तनेहि, अत्तनेमि, [अत्तेहि, अत्तेमि] ॥ ४, ६—अत्तस्स, अत्तनो ।
अत्तानं । ५—अत्तना, अत्तस्मा, अत्तम्हा । (same as inst plu) ॥ १—अत्तनि,
[अत्ते] । अत्तनेसु ॥ (10) राजन् ॥ १—राजा । राजानो ॥ २—राजं, राजानं । राजानो ॥
३—रज्जा, राजेन, राजिना । राजूमि, राजूहि राजेमि, राजेहि ॥ ४, ३—रज्जो, राजिणो,
राजस्स । रज्जं, राजूयं, राजायं ॥ ५—रज्जा, राजम्हा, राजस्मा । (same as inst
plu) ७—रज्जो, राजिनि, राजमिह, राजस्मिं । राजसु, राजेसु ॥ (11) श्व । ७—श्वे,
सस्मिं, सस्मिह, साने । श्वसु ॥ (12) गच्छत् ॥ १—गच्छं, गच्छन्तो । गच्छन्तो ॥
२—गच्छन्तं । गच्छन्ते ॥ ३—गच्छता, गच्छन्तेन । गच्छन्तेमि, गच्छन्तेहि ॥
४, ६—गच्छतो, गच्छन्तस्स । गच्छत, गच्छन्तान ॥ ५—गच्छता, गच्छन्तम्हा, गच्छ-
न्तस्मा । गच्छन्तेमि गच्छन्तेहि ॥ १—गच्छति, गच्छन्ते, गच्छन्तमिह, गच्छन्तस्मि ।
गच्छन्तेसु ॥ (13) पुमस् ॥ १—पुमा, पुमो । पुमा, पुमानो ॥ २—पुमानं, पुमं । पुमानो,
पुमाने, पुमे ॥ ३—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमेन । पुमानेमि, पुमानेहि, पुमेहि, पुमेमि ॥
४, ६—पुमुनो, पुमस्स । पुमानं ॥ ५—पुमाना, पुमुना, पुमा, पुमस्मा, पुमम्हा ।
(same as inst. plu.) ॥ ७—पुमाने, पुमे, पुमस्मिं, पुममिह । पुमानेसु, पुमेसु, पुमसु ।

Declension from Hemacandra. (1) वृक्ष ॥ १, २, ६, ७—(as in 1st P) ॥

३—वृक्षेण, वृक्षेणं । वृक्षेहि, वृक्षेहिं, वृक्षेहिं ॥ ५—वृक्षा, वृक्षतो, वृक्षाओ
(Saur ओतो), वृक्षाउ (Saur ओडु), वृक्षाहिं, वृक्षाहिंतो । वृक्षतो, वृक्षाओ, वृक्षाउ,
वृक्षाहि, वृक्षेहि, वृक्षाहिंतो, वृक्षासुतो, वृक्षेहिंतो, वृक्षेसुतो ॥ (2) गिरि ॥ १—गिरी ।
गिरी, गिरिओ, गिरिउ, गिरिणो ॥ २, ३—(of अग्नि in PP and वृक्ष in Hem) ॥
४, ६—गिरिणो, गिरिस्स । गिरीण, गिरीयं ॥ ५—गिरिणो, गिरितो, गिरीओ, गिरीउ,
गिरीहिंतो । गिरितो, गिरीओ, गिरीउ, गिरीहिंतो, गिरीसुतो ॥ Voc. गिरि, गिरी । गिरी,

etc. Note that Hem. does not allow हि as the affix of abl. sing. except in the *a*-stems. (3) तरु ॥ १—तरु । तरु, तरवो, तरभो, तरव, तरवो ॥ २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७—(cf. गिरि in Hem.) ॥ (4) माला ॥ १—(as in PP.) २—मालं । माला, मालाओ, मालाउ ॥ ३—मालाअ, मालाह, मालाए । मालाहि, etc. (cf. हृत् in Hem.) ॥ ४, ६—मालाअ, मालाह, मालाए । मालाण, मालाणं ॥ ५—मालाअ, मालाह, मालाए, मालतो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहि'तो । मालतो, मालाओ, मालाउ, मालाहि'तो, मालासु'तो ॥ १—मालाअ, मालाह, मालाए । मालासु मालासु' ॥ (5) बुद्धि ॥ १, २—(cf. माला in Hem.) ॥ ३—बुद्धिअ, बुद्धिआ, बुद्धिह, बुद्धिए । बुद्धिहि, etc. ॥ ५—बुद्धिअ, बुद्धिआ, बुद्धितो, बुद्धिह बुद्धिए, बुद्धिओ, बुद्धिउ, बुद्धिहि'तो । बुद्धितो, बुद्धिओ, बुद्धिउ, बुद्धिहि'तो, बुद्धिसु'तो ॥ ४, ६, ७—(sing. as inst. sing.; for plu., cf. माला in Hem.) ॥ (6) पित्र ॥ १—पित्रा, पित्रो । पित्ररा, पित्रयो, पित्रवो, पित्रओ, पित्रउ, पिक ॥ २—पित्रर' । पित्ररे, पित्ररा, पित्रयो, पिक ॥ ३—पित्ररेण, पित्ररेणं, पित्रया । पित्ररेहि, etc., पिकहि, etc. ॥ ४, ५, ६, ७—(पित्रर as हृत् and पित as तरु in Hem.) ॥ (7) रायन् ॥ १—राया । राया, रायायो, राइयो ॥ २—रायं, राइणं । राये, राया, रायायो, राइयो ॥ ३—राइया, रयाणा, राएण, राएणं । राएहि, etc. राइहि, etc. ॥ ४, ६—रययो, राइयो, रायस्स । राइण, राइणं, रायाण, रायणं ॥ ५—रययो, राइयो, रायतो, etc. । रायतो, etc. ; राइतो, etc. (cf. गिरि and हृत् in Hem.) ॥ ७—राये, रायम्मि, राइम्मि । राइस्स, राइसुं, राएस्स, राएसुं ॥

Declension in Epigraphic Prakrit In some cases, the *tribhaktis* are adapted to a standard base. Note the confusion about the use of gender. (1) जन (nase) १—जन, जनं, जना, जनि, जने, जनो, जनु (C Asia) । जन, जना, जने, जनानि, जनासे (Asokan; cf. Ved. जनसः) ॥ २ जन, जनं, जना, जने, जनो, जनु । जन, जना, जने, जनानि ॥ ३ जनेन, जनेना । जनेहि, जनेहि ॥ ४—जना, जनाय, जनाये, जनए । जनेहि ॥ ५—जन, जना, जनाहि, जनते, जनदे ॥ ६—जनस, जनसा, जनह (Ceylon) । जनानं, जनानां, जनान, जनाना ॥ ७—जनम्हि, जनम्हि, जने, जनसि, जनसि, जनमि, जनमि । जनेसु, जनेसु ॥ Cf. dat. dual पदेभ्यं in C Asia. (2) फल (neut.) १, २—फल, फलं, फलो, फलो, फलो । फलानि, फलानी, फला, फल ॥ (3) पूजा (fem.) १—पूज, पूजा । पूजा, पूजायो ॥

२—पूजा, पूजं, पूजां ॥ ३—पूजाय, पूजाया, पूजये, पूजाये, पुयए, पुअए । पूजएहि, पूजाहि ॥ ४, ६,—(sing same as inst sing) । पूजानं ॥ ५—(sing same as inst sing) ॥ ७—पूजायं, पूजाय, पूजाये । पूजासु ॥ Cf bases like चातुदसा, पंथडसा for चतुर्दशी, पञ्चदशी ; also परिसा, दिसा, etc (4) मुनि, etc ॥ १—सक्यमुनो (असमसि neut) । ओसधीनि (masc) ॥ २—Pl. अधिपतये (masc.) ॥ ६—सातकणिस, सातकनिनो, मुने, अधिपतिनो, गहवतिस, सतिनो, मुनिस, पुण्यवुद्धिस्य, •सिरिनो, •वोधिनो । आतिनं, आतिना, आतिन ॥ ७—Pl आतीरु, आतिसु ॥ (5) मति, देवी (fem) । १—देवि, देवी । देवि, देविनो, देविनि (cf अनुसथिनि), देविये ॥ २—देवि, देवी, देवि । देवियो ॥ ३, ४—देविय, देविया, देविये, देविअ, देवीय ॥ ५—देविया, देवितो ॥ ६—देविये, देवीये, देवीय । देविना, देविनं, देवीनं ॥ ७—देविये, देवियं, देवि (cf चतुदशि), देव्य, देव्या, देविना, देवीयं । देविह ॥ (6) साधु (masc.), etc. ॥ १—साधु (also fem and neut.), साधू । धनुओ (neut बहूनि) ॥ ३—साधुना (fem. बाधुव) । साधुहि, बहूहि ॥ ५—Pl मिबूहि ॥ ६—इलाकुस, मिबूत्स्य (fem बधुये) । मिबूत, मिबूत, साधूनं ॥ ७—पुनाबधुने, बहूने । साधूस्स, बाधुस्स ॥ Cf आयरजुस, सर्वजुनो ॥ गो—गोवसा । etc. ॥ (7) पितृ, etc. १—पिता, पित. यता, अपहट, •हटा, निरूपयिता । नतारे, नतरो, नती, नति ॥ २—मातरं । पिति ॥ ३—पिता, पितिना, जामातरा, भ्राता, आतिना. आता, भदुण, मत्त, मातुय, मातर, धित, धितर, धुतुना, धितुन । मातापितिहि ॥ ४—पितृ ॥ ६—मातु, मातुय, भदुपिदु, भतपितु, पितुनो, भ्रतु, भनुयो, भदर, धित, धिता धुतुय, तासारस । भवपिदर, मातापितुन, आतिनं, भातीनं, भ्रतुन, भातुन, भतरपितरय, स्पुतुन ॥ ७—पितरि, मातरि, माति । पितिसु, पितुसु ॥ (8) Bases in at १ भगवं (neut आवते, कियं, किय), कव, कवं, करोतो, करवं, महंते, संतो, संतं, पजाव, सिरिमाते, •मातो, अभिसित-मतो । तिसुटंतो, संत ॥ ३—भगवता, हेतु०, शरीर०, भगवद ॥ ६—महतकस, भगवतु, •वतो, सिरिमतस, महतस, महंतस, अरहतो । वसंतान, महिमावतानं, अरहंतानं ॥ ७—महंते ॥ (9) राजन् etc (masc.) । १—राजा, राज (neut. कंमं, कंमे । राजानो, राजाने, रजनि ॥ २—राजानं, अतानं (neut. नाम, नामा) । उत्तरापधराजानो (neut. कंमानि) ॥ ३—राजा, राजिना, अतना, महतना, महत्तयेन, कंमन । लाजीहि ॥ ४—कंमाये, कंमाने ॥ ५—महात्पा ॥ ६—रजो, राजो, राखिने, रजने, रजिने, रजस, राजिनो, अतने, अतनो, अपनो, अत्वनो, जसस, •वर्मस्य, •दानस, ज्ञयमस । महत्तन ॥

७—राजिनि, सीमे ॥ Cf युवराजो, धर्मराजो, etc. (10) प्रियदर्शिन, etc. (masc.)
 १—प्रियदसि, प्रियदसी, हस्ति ॥ २—Pl. हयिनि, हयोनि, ऋस्तिन, अस्तिने,
 अतिवासीनि (neut. गामीनि) ॥ ३—प्रियदसिना, प्रियदसिन ॥ ६—प्रियदसिनो,
 प्रियदसिने, प्रियदसिस, प्रियदसिसा, हयिस, स्वामिस्य, चक्रवर्तिनो ॥ ७—अतिवासीषु ॥
 (11) अविमनसू etc. ॥ १—Pl. अविमना, अविमन (masc.) ॥ २—यसो, भुय,
 भुये (neut.) ॥ ७—सिरसि ॥ Cf. the declensional forms in Chapters
 X-XII, Notes.

As to the confusion of number, we have हेमदानं, शिम्हानं as well as
 वासानं. For the confusion of gender, cf. वरिसानि, संवद्धरं (nom
 sing.), छनिचं, etc. महासेनापतिनि, महादानपतिनि, etc are interesting
 feminine forms.

षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ।—सर्वनामविधिः ॥

Chapter VI—Declension of Pronouns and Numerals.

This chapter deals mainly with the declension of pronouns and
 numerals. The chapter actually forms part of Ch. V. In the
 commentary on PP. by Rāma Pāṇivāda (born 1707 A. D.) both
 Ch. V and Ch. VI have been given as Ch. V, and it is interesting
 that only eight chapters (the genuine part of the PP) are commented
 upon. It is also noteworthy that Rāma Pāṇivāda composed his
Kaṇṣavaho in the language of the original PP., i. e. the so-
 called Mahārāshṭrī variety of Prakrit speech.

सर्वदिर्ज्ञस पत्वम् ॥१॥ *Jas* (nom. plu) becomes *e* when it follows
 the words *sarva*, etc. सर्वे = सव्वे; वे = वे; ते = ते; के = के, कतरे = कदरे ॥

छेः स्त्वि-मि-त्थाः ॥२॥ After the words, *sarva*, etc. (S. 1), *smi*, *mi*
 and *ttha* are substituted for *ni* (loc sing.) सर्वस्मिन् = सव्वस्मिं, सव्वम्मि,
 सव्वत्थ ; इतरस्मिन् = इअरस्मिं, इअरम्मि, इअरत्थ ॥

इदमेतदकिंयचङ्गयथा इजा वा ॥३॥ After the words *idam*, *etad*, *kim*,
yad and *tad*, *iṇā* is optionally substituted for *īā* (inst sing.).
 अनेन = इमिणा, इमेण ; एतेन = एदिणा, एदेण ; केन = किणा, केण ; येन = जिणा, जेण ; तेन =
 तिणा, तेण ॥

आमा एसिं ॥४॥ After the words *adam*, etc. (S. 3), *esim* is optionally substituted for *am* (gen. plu.). एषाम्=येसिं, इमाण ; एतेषाम्=एदेसिं, एदाण ; केषाम्=केसिं, काण ; येषाम्=येसिं, जाण ; तेषाम्=तेसिं, ताण ॥

किञ्चत्तद्वधो हस आसः ॥५॥ *Asa* is optionally substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after the words *him*, *yad* and *tad* कस्य=काय, कस ; यस्य=जाय, जस , तस्य=ताय, तस ॥ Of *supra*, I, 17, notes

इज्जण हसा से ॥६॥ *Sa* and *se* are substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after the pronouns *him*, *yad* and *tad*, when they are declined like nouns (fem.) ending in *i* कस्या=किस्ता, कीसे ; also कीसा, कीए, कीअ, कीइ, [कीव] (*supra*, V, 22) । यस्याः=जिस्ता, जीसे ; also जीसा, जीए जीअ, जीइ, [जीव] । तस्याः=तिस्ता, तीसे , also तीसा, तीए, तीअ, तीइ, [तीव] ॥

उहिं ॥७॥ *Him* is optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after the words *him*, *yad* and *tad* कस्मिन्=कहिं ; also कस्सिं, कस्मि, कस्य (S. 2) । यस्मिन्=जहिं, also जस्सिं, जस्मि, जस्य । तस्मिन्=उहिं ; also तस्सिं, तस्मि, तस्य ॥

आहे इवा काले ॥८॥ *Vai* loc. =च काले ॥ *Ahe* and *ai* are optionally substituted for *ni* (loc. sing.) after the above words in the sense of time (cf *Pāṇ*, V, 3, 15) कदा=काहे, कदा ; also कहिं, etc. (S. 7) । यदा=जाहिं, जइवा ; also जहिं, etc. ॥ तदा=ताहिं, तइवा ; also ताहिं, etc. *Hem* ^{h₄} also काला, जाला and ताला respectively in these senses.

तो दो डसे ॥९॥ *Tto* and *do* are substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after the same pronouns कस्याव=कतो, कदो ; यस्याव=जतो, जदो ; तस्याव=ततो, तदो ॥

तद ओअ ॥१०॥ *O* is optionally substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) after the pronoun *tad* तद=तो ; also ततो, तदो (S. 9, cf *supra*, IV, 6) ॥ The *a* is considered to be elided before *o* by IV, 1

हसा से ॥११॥ *Se* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *tad* together with *nas* (gen. sing.) तस्य, तस्याः=से ; also for masc तास, तस (*supra*, S. 5) ॥ *Hem* allows the form in all the genders for *adam*, *etad* and *tad*.

आमा स्त्विं ॥१२॥ *Sim* is optionally substituted for the word *tad* together with *ām* (gen. plu.) तेषां, तासां = स्त्विं ; also ताण (or ताण), तेषिं (S. 4) ॥ Hem allows the form for *idam*, *etad* and *tad* in all the genders.

किमः कः ॥१३॥ *Ka* is substituted for the pronoun *kim* when followed by case-affixes. १—को । के ॥ ३—केण । केहिं ॥ etc

इमः इमः ॥१४॥ *Ima* is substituted for the pronoun *idam* when followed by case-affixes. १—इमो । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण । इमेहिं ॥ etc

स्स-स्सिमोद्धा ॥१५॥ *A* is optionally substituted for *idam* when followed by the Prakrit case-affixes *ssa* (gen. sing.) and *ssim* (loc. sing.) अत्थ=अत्थ, इमत्थ ; अस्मिन्=अस्मिं, इमस्मिं ॥ Cf V, 8, VI, 2.

हेदेन हः ॥१६॥ *Ha* is optionally substituted for *hi* (loc. sing.) together with the *da* of *idam* अस्मिन्=इह ; also अस्मिं, इमस्मिं, इमस्मि (cf. S. 2, 15); but not इमत्थ (cf. S. 2, 17) ॥

न त्थाः ॥१७॥ *Ttha* is not substituted for *hi* (loc. sing.) when it follows *idam* (cf. S. 2).

नपुंसके स्वमोदिमिणमिणमो ॥१८॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing.) and *am* (acc. sing.) in the neuter gender, *idam*, *etam* and *inamo* are substituted for *idam* together with the case-affixes.

एतद् सावोत्वं वा ॥१९॥ When *etad* is followed by *su* (nom. sing.), the substitution of *o* for *su* is optional Cf *supra*, V. 1 एष = एत्त, एसो ॥

सो ङ्सेः ॥२०॥ *Tto* is optionally substituted for *nass* (abl. sing.) when it follows *etad*. Cf. S. 21 एतस्मात्, अतः = एतो ; also एदादो, एदादु, एदाहि (cf. V. 6) ॥

सोत्थयोस्तलोपः ॥२१॥ *Ta* of *etad* is dropped when followed by *tto* (S. 20) and *ttha* (S. 2). एतस्मात् = एतो ; एतस्मिन् = एत्थ (K. इत्थ) ॥ Cf. *supra*, IV, 6 for the elision of the final *d*.

तदेतदोः सः सावनपुंसके ॥२२॥ *Sa* is substituted for the *ta* of *tad* and *etad* in the masculine and feminine (but not in the neuter) before

su (nom. sing.). सः पुरुषः=सो पुरिसो (Hem also allows स, III, 3)। सा महिला=सा महिला ॥ एसो, एस (S. 19), एसा ॥ Hem (III, 85) allows एस also in the neuter

अदसो वो मुः ॥२३॥ *Ma* is optionally substituted for the *da* of *adas* before the case-affixes (cf. also *supra*, IV, 6) and the word is declined as a noun ending in *v*. असौ पुरुषः=अमू पुरिसो। असौ महिला=अमू महिला। अमो पुरुषाः=अमूओ पुरिसा। अमूः महिला=अमूओ महिलाओ। अद. वनम्=अमु' वर्ण'। अमूनि वनानि=अमुद' वर्णा' ॥

ह्यस्य सौ ॥२४॥ *Ha* (which does not admit any case-affix and remains the same in all the three genders) is optionally substituted for the *da* of the pronoun *adas* (cf IV, 6) before *su* (nom sing) अह पुरिसो। अह महिला। अह वर्ण ॥

पदस्य ॥२५॥ The word *pada* means a word together with its case-affix. This is an *adhyāra-sūtra* (cf I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules up to S 53 refer to substitutes of *padas*

युष्मदस्तं तुमं ॥२६॥ *Tam* and *tumam* are substituted for the *pada* *yushmad*+*su* (nom. sing)। *Su* comes here from S. 24 त्वम्=तं, तुमं ॥

तुं चामि ॥२७॥ *Tum* is also substituted for *yushmad*+*am* (acc sing) त्वाम्, त्वा=तुं, alternately also तुमं (and तं ?) ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K

तुज्जे तुम्हे जसि ॥२८॥ *Tujjhe* and *tumhe* are substituted for *yushmad*+*jas* (nom. plu) यूयम्=तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥

वो च जसि ॥२९॥ *Vo* is also substituted for *yushmad*+*jas* (acc. plu.) युष्मान्, व=वो, also तुज्जे, तुम्हे ॥

टाह्योस्ताह तए तुमए तुमे ॥३०॥ *Vai* lect. •तुए (K.) ॥ *Tai*, *tao*, *tumae* and *tume* (*tue* according to K) are substituted for *yushmad*+*iā* (inst sing) and *yushmad*+*ni* (loc sing). त्वा, त्वयि=तह, तए, तुमए, तुमे (K तुए) ॥

हसि तुमो-तुह-तुज्ज-तुम्हा-तुम्माः ॥३१॥ Var. lect. •तुव-तुमो-तुह-तुज्ज-तुम्भ-तुम्हाः (K.) ॥ *Tumo*, *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tumha* and *tumma* are substituted

for *yushmad+nas* (gen. sing.), i. e. for *tava*, *te*. K ignores *tumma*, but adds *tuva* and *tubbha* to the list of substitutes. Note that *tumma* is only a modification of *tumha*.

आदि च ते दे ॥३२॥ *Ān* of the eastern school of Indian grammarians is the same as *tā* (inst. sing.) of the western school. *Te* and *de* are substituted for *yushmad+ān* (inst. sing.) and also for *yushmad+nas* (gen. sing.) *त्वया* and *तव*, *ते=ते*, *दे* ॥ Cf. S. 31.

तुमाइ च ॥३३॥ *Tumāi* is optionally substituted for *yushmad+ān* (inst. sing.). *त्वया=तुमाइ* ॥

तुज्जेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं भिसि ॥३४॥ Var. lect. *tujjehi* *tumhehi* *tummehi* *bhisi* (K) ॥ *Tujjehim*, *tumhehim* and *tummehim* are substituted for *yushmad+hihi* (inst. plu.). *बुष्मामि=तुज्जेहिं*, *तुम्हेहिं*, *तुम्मेहिं* ॥ K ignores *tummehim* (which is merely a modification of *tumhehi* or *'him*) and prefers *tujjehi* and *tumhehi* without the final *anusvāra* (cf. IV, 16).

इसौ तत्तो तइत्तो तुमादो तुमाडु तुमाहि ॥३५॥ *Tatto*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad+nas* (abl. sing.) *त्वत्=तत्तो*, *तइत्तो*, *तुमादो*, *तुमाडु*, *तुमाहि* ॥

तुम्हाहिन्यो तुम्हासुन्तो भ्यसि ॥३६॥ *Tumhāhinyo* and *tumhāsunto* are substituted for *yushmad+bhya+* (abl. plu.) *बुष्मव=तुम्हाहिन्यो*, *तुम्हासुन्तो* ॥

यो मे तुज्ज्जाणं तुम्हाणमामि ॥३७॥ *Yo*, etc. are substituted for *yushmad+ām* (gen. plu.) *बुष्माम्*, *व=यो*, *मे*, *तुज्ज्जाणं*, *तुम्हाणं* ॥

इौ तुमम्मि ॥३८॥ Var. lect. *o-tummmi* *tummmi* (K) ॥ *Tumammī* is optionally substituted for *yushmad+ni* (loc. sing.) For other forms, see S. 30. K. gives two substitutes, viz. *tumammī* and *tumassim*. *त्वयि=तुमम्मि*, *तुमत्सि* ॥

तुज्जेसु तुम्हेसु सुपि ॥३९॥ *Tujjesu* and *tumhesu* are substituted for *yushmad+sup* (loc. plu.). *बुष्मासु=तुज्जेसु*, *तुम्हेसु* ॥

अस्मदो हम्हमहम् सौ ॥४०॥ *Haṃ*, etc., are substituted for *asmad+*

su (nom. sing.). अहम्=हं, अहं, अहम् ॥ For the last form, cf. Māgadhi (XI, 9) *hako, hage, ahako* and Ins *hakam*.

अहम्मिरमि च ॥४१॥ Var. leot. मिरमि च (K.) ॥ *Ahammi* is substituted for *asmad+am* (acc sing) and also *asmad+su* (nom sing) अहम् and माम्, मा=अहम्मि (K मि) ॥

मं ममं ॥४२॥ *Mam* and *mamam* are substituted for *asmad+am* (acc. sing) माम्, मा=मं, ममं ॥

अम्हे अश्शस्त्रोः ॥४३॥ *Amho* is substituted for *asmad+as* (nom plu.) and *asmad+śas* (acc plu) वयम् and अस्मान्, वः=अम्हे ॥

णो णसि ॥४४॥ *No* is optionally substituted for *asmad+śas* (acc. plu) अस्मान्, वः=णो ॥ Some Mss read *ṇo* as in Hem, but K. ignores this *Sūtra*

आहि मे ममाह ॥४५॥ *Me* and *mamā* are substituted for *asmad+ān* (inst. sing) मया=मे, ममाह ॥ For the latter form, cf. Aśokan ममया, ममिया, etc in Notes below

हौ च मह मए ॥४६॥ *Mat* and *mae* are substituted for *asmad+ni* (loc sing) and *asmad+ān* (inst sing) मयि, मया=मह, मए ॥

अम्हेहि मिलि ॥४७॥ Var leot अम्हेहि (K.) ॥ *Amhohim* is substituted for *asmad+bhis* (inst plu) अस्मानि=अम्हेहि (K अम्हेहि) ॥

मत्तो महत्तो ममादो ममादु ममाहि हत्तौ ॥४८॥ *Matto*, etc are substituted for *asmad+nas* (abl sing). मत्=मत्तो, महत्तो, ममादो, ममादु, ममाहि ॥

अम्हाहिन्तो अम्हासुन्तो म्यसि ॥४९॥ *Amhāhinto* and *amhāsunto* are substituted for *asmad+bhyas* (abl plu) अस्मत्=अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥

मे मम मह मज्जक ढसि ॥५०॥ *Me*, etc, are substituted for *asmad+nas* (gen. sing.) मम, मे=मे, मम, मह, मज्जक ॥ Cf. मज्जक<महं>महि (for महिय) in C. Asian documents.

मज्जक णो अम्ह अम्हाणमम्हे आमि ॥५१॥ Var leot. णो अम्ह (K.) ॥

Majjha, etc., are substituted for *asmad+ām* (gen. plu.). अस्माकम्, नः=अजम्, यो, अम्ह, अम्हारां, अम्हे ॥ Some MSS have *ne* for *no*. K. ignores *majjha*; but Hem has *ne*, *no*, *majjha*, *amha*, *amham*, *amhe*, *amhu*, *amhāna*, *mamāna* and *mahāna*

ममम्मि डौ ॥५२॥ Var lect ममग्गि ममस्सिं दौ (K) ॥ *Mamammī* is substituted for *asmad+ni* (loc. sing.). मग्गि=ममम्मि (K. also ममस्सिं) ॥ Cf. S 46

अम्हेसु सुपि ॥५३॥ *Amhesu* is substituted for *asmad+sup* (loc. plu.). अस्मासु=अम्हेसु ॥

द्वे दोँ ॥५४॥ *Do* is substituted for *dvi* before *sup*, i.e. all the case-affixes द्वाभ्याम्=दोहिं ; द्वयो=दोसु ॥ Cf. S. 57.

त्रेस्तिः ॥५५॥ *Tri* is substituted for *tri* before all the case-affixes and the word is declined like a noun ending in *i*. तिभिः (fem तिषुभिः) =तोहिं, तिषु (fem. तिषुषु) =तीसु ॥ Cf. V. 18; VI. 60.

तिणिण् जइवास्साम् ॥५६॥ *Triṇṇ* is substituted for *tri+jas* (nom plu.) and *tri+śas* (acc. plu.). खव, बीन् (neut.बीणि ; fem तिस्सः) =तिणिण् ॥

द्वे दुँवे दोणि वा ॥५७॥ *Ducc* and *duṇi* are optionally substituted for *dvi+jas* (nom plu.) and *dvi+śas* (acc. plu.) द्वौ (fem and neut. द्वे) =दुवे, दोणि ॥ Cf. S 54.

चतुस्सत्तारो चत्तारि ॥५८॥ *Chattāro* and *chattāri* are substituted for *chatur+jas* (nom plu.) and *chatur+śas* (acc. plu.) चत्वारः (neut. चत्वारि ; fem. चत्तसः) =चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥

एषामामो षँ ॥५९॥ *Ḍham* is substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.) after the words *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*. द्वयो=दोण्हं ; त्रयाणाम्, तिषुणाम्=तिण्हं ; चतुर्णाम्, चतस्रणाम्=चतुण्हं or चतण्हं ॥ K. ignores the *anuvāra* in *donham*, etc.

क्षेपोऽदन्तवत् ॥६०॥ The rest of the rules regarding declension

are the same as those for words ending in *a*. As for instance, the rule *bhiso hem* (V, 5) given for words ending in *a*, should also apply to masculine words ending in *i* and *u* (e.g. अग्नीहि, वाकहि, etc.), and to feminine words ending in *ā*, *i* and *ū* (e.g. भ्राताहि, यद्वहि, वद्वहि, etc.; cf. V, 19), and also to numerals (e.g., दोहि, तीहि, चकहि, etc.; cf. S. 54-55.).

न ङिङ्स्थोरेदातौ ॥६१॥ *E* and *ā* are not substituted respectively for *us* (loc. sing.) and *nasu* (abl. sing.) in the case of nouns ending in *i* and *u*. Cf. V, 6 and 9 अग्नी=अग्निगमि; दानी=दानमि । अग्ने=अग्नीदो, अग्नीदु, अग्नीहि; दानी=दानदो, दानदु, दानहि ॥

ए ण्यसि ॥६२॥ *E* (also *ā*) is not substituted for the final vowel of nouns ending in *i* and *u*, when *bhyas* (abl. plu.) follows. Cf. V, 7 and 12 अग्निभ्य=अग्नीहिन्तो, अग्नीदुन्तो; दानुभ्य=दानहिन्तो, दानदुन्तो ॥

द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनम् ॥६३॥ The plural must be used instead of the dual in all cases both for the cases of nouns and for the forms of verbs. इदौ=वच्छा; इदाम्बाय=वच्छेहि; तिष्ठतः=विद्वन्ति ॥ There are violations, though very rare, of this rule in Epigraphic Prakrit.

सत्पुत्र्याः षष्ठी ॥६४॥ The genitive case-affix must be used instead of the dative प्राश्रयाय=बन्धवस्स, प्राश्रयेभ्य=बन्धवाय ॥ Note that in the earlier stage of the language as represented by Pāli and inscriptions, the dative is sometimes found to be used, but the former uses dative forms only in the singular. Hem also notices that occasionally dat. sing forms are used in Prakrit. He also allows gen. for acc, inst., abl. and loc, loc. for acc and instr., loc. and instr. for abl., and acc for loc. He further says that in AMg. sometimes inst. is used for loc., and acc is used for nom. Hem's additional rules are: "[चतुष्पाः षष्ठी] तादर्थ्यदेवो" ॥३११३२॥ देवाय=देवस्स, देवाय ॥ "ववाशइव वा" ॥३११३३॥ ववायस्स=ववाइ, ववस्स, ववाय ॥ "ववविदितोवादे" ॥३११३४॥ ३—सीमा-वरस्स वन्दे । ३—अग्नेन सम्भ्य=वच्छस्स लदो; विदेय मुक्ता=चिरस्स मुक्ता । ५—चोरादि-भेति=चोरस्स वीहइ । ५—षष्ठीय (विद्वस्स)केसमारो ॥ "द्वितीयातुतीययोः सप्तमी" ॥३११३५॥

२—गामे न जासि । ३—द्विचिस्तेरलङ्कृता पृथिवी=तिस्रु तेस्रु अलङ्कित्वा पुहवी ॥ “पञ्चम्या-
स्तृतीया च [सप्तमी च] ॥३१३६॥ ३—चोरेण वीहह । ७—अन्त-पुराद् रन्त्वा आगतो
राजा=अन्तेवरे रमितमागञ्चो राया ॥ “सप्तम्या द्वितीया” ॥३१३७॥ विद्युद्घोतं स्मरति
रात्रौ=विज्जुब्बोयं भरद् रत्तिं ॥ “आषे तृतीयापि” ॥ तस्मिन् काले=तेणं कालेणं ॥
“प्रथमाया अपि द्वितीया” ॥ चञ्चीसं पि निणवरा ॥

NOTES

Summary. Declension of Pronouns. (1) सर्वं ॥ (a) Masc १—सब्बो ।
सब्बे ॥ २—सब्बं । सब्बे ॥ ३—सब्बेण । सब्बेहिं, सब्बेहि ॥ ५—सब्बादो, सब्बादु,
सब्बाहि । सब्बाहिन्तो, सब्बासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—सब्बस्स । सब्बारुं, सब्बाण ॥ ७—सब्बस्सिं,
सब्बम्मि, सब्बत्थ । सब्बेसुं, सब्बेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सब्बा । सब्बाओ, सब्बाउ,
सब्बा ॥ २—सब्बं । सब्बाओ, सब्बाउ ॥ ३—सब्बाह, सब्बाए । सब्बाहिं, सब्बाहि ॥ ४, ६
—सब्बाह, सब्बाए । सब्बारुं, सब्बाण ॥ ५—सब्बाह, सब्बाए, सब्बादो, सब्बादु, सब्बाहि ।
सब्बाहिन्तो, सब्बासुन्तो ॥ ७—सब्बाह, सब्बाए । सब्बासुं, सब्बासु ॥ (c) Nout १, २
—सब्बं । सब्बाहं, सब्बाह, सब्बाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc (2) इवम् ॥
(a) Masc १—इमो । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—इमेण, इमिणा । इमेहिं, इमेहि ॥ ५
—इमादो, इमादु, इमाहि । इमाहिन्तो, इमासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—इमस्स, अस्स । इमारुं,
इमाण, इमेसिं ॥ ७—इमस्सिं, इमम्मि, अस्सिं, इह । इमेसुं, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem
१—इमा । इमाओ, इमाउ, इमा ॥ २—इमं । इमाओ, इमाउ ॥ ३—इमाह, इमाए ।
इमाहिं, इमाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.) (c) Nout १, २—इदं, इणं,
इणमो । इमाहं, इमाह, इमाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc (3) किम् ॥ (a) Masc.
१—को । के ॥ २—कं । के ॥ ३—केण, किणा । केहिं, केहि ॥ ५—कदो, कतो ।
काहिन्तो, कासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—कस्स, कास । काणं, काण । केसि ॥ ७—कस्सिं, कम्मि,
कत्थ, कहिं, कस्सि, काहे, कइथा ॥ केसुं, केसु ॥ (b) Fem १—का । काओ, काउ,
कोओ, कीउ ॥ २—कं । plu. as nom plu ॥ ३—कोणा, काए, काइ, कीए, कीइ,
कीअ, कीआ । काहिं, काहि, कीहिं, कीहि ॥ ५—कादो, कादु, कीदो कीइ, also inst.
sing. forms except *kinā* । काहिन्तो, कासुन्तो, कीहिन्तो, कोसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—
कस्सा, किस्सा, कासे, कीसे, कीए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ, काह, काए । कासा, केसि,
कासिं, काणं, काण, कोणं, कीण, कीसिं ॥ ७—काए, काइ, कोए, कीइ, कीअ, कीआ,
काहे, कइथा । कासुं, कासु, कीसुं, कीसु ॥

(c) Neut १, २—कं । काहं, काह, काणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (4) यद् ॥ (a) Masc १—जो । जे ॥ २—जं । जे ॥ ३—जेण, जिण । जेहिं, जेहि ॥ ५—जत्तो, जदो । जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जत्स, जास । जाणं, जाण, जेसिं ॥ ७—जत्सिं, जम्मि, जत्थ, जहिं, जाहे, जइआ, जत्सि । जेसुं, जेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—जा । जाओ, जाठ, जीओ, जीठ ॥ २—जं । as nom. plu. ॥ ३—जीणा, जाए, जाह, जीह, जीए, जीअ, जीआ । जाहिं, जाहि, जीहिं, जीहि ॥ ५—जादो, जाडु, जीदो, जीदु, also inst. sing. forms except *indā* । जाहिन्तो, जासुन्तो, जीहिन्तो, जीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—जत्सा, जित्सा, जासे, जीसे, जीए, जीह, जीअ, जीआ, जाह, जाए । जासां, जेसिं, जासिं, जाणं, जाण, जीणं, जीण, जीसिं ॥ ७—जाए, जाह, जीए, जीह, जीअ, जीआ, जाहे, जइआ । जासुं, जासु, जीसुं, जीसु ॥ (c) Neut १, २—जं । जाहं, जाह, जाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (5) तद् ॥ (a) Masc. १—तो । ते ॥ २—तं । ते ॥ ३—तेण, तिण । तेहिं, तेहि ॥ ५—तत्तो, तदो, तो । ताहिन्तो, तासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—तत्स, तास, ते । तेसिं, ताणं, ताण, सिं ॥ ७—तत्सिं, तम्मि, तत्थ, तहिं, ताहे, तइआ, तत्सि । तेसुं, तेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—सा । साओ, साठ, सीओ, सीठ ॥ २—तं । as nom plu ॥ ३—साह, साए, सीए, सीह, सीअ, सीआ, सीणा । साहिं, साहि, सीहिं, सीहि ॥ ५—सादो, साडु, सीदो, सीदु, also inst. sing. forms except *indā* । साहिन्तो, सासुन्तो, सीहिन्तो, सीसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—सत्सा, सित्सा, सासे, सीसे, साए, साह, सीए, सीह, सीअ, सीआ, से । सासा, तेसिं, सासिं, साण, साण, सीणं, सीण, सीसिं, मि ॥ ७—साए, साह, सीए, सीह, सीअ, सीआ, साहे, तइआ । सासुं, सासु, सीसुं, सीसु ॥ (c) Neut १, २—तं । ताहं, ताह, ताणि । The rest is as in masc. (6) एतद् ॥ (a) Masc १—एस, एसो । एदे ॥ २—एदं । एदे ॥ ३—एदेण, एदिणा । एदेहिं, एदेहि ॥ ५—एत्तो, एदादो, एदाडु, एदाहि । एदाहिन्तो, एदासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—एदत्स । एदेसिं, एदाणं, एदाण ॥ ७—एदत्सिं, एदम्मि, एत्थ, इत्थ । एदेसुं, एदेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—एसा । एदाओ, एदाठ ॥ २—एदं । एदाओ, एदाठ ॥ ३—एदाह, एदाए । एदाहिं, एदाहि ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (fem.) and इदम् (fem.). (c) Neut १, २—एदं । एदाहं, एदाह, एदाणि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (7) अद् ॥ (a) Masc १—अम्, अह । अमूओ, अमुओ ॥ २—अमुं । अमू, अमुओ, अमू ॥ ३—अमुया । अमूहिं, अमूनि ॥ ५—अमूदो, अमूडु, अमूहि । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥

४, ६—अमुणो, अमुत्स । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—अमुस्ति, अमुस्मि, अमुत्थ । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—अमू, अह । अमूओ, अमूत्, अमू ॥ २—अमू' । अमूओ, अमूत्, अमू ॥ ३—अमूए, अमूइ, अमूअ, अमूआ । अमूहिं, अमूहि ॥ ५—अमूदो, अमूहु, अमूहि, also inst. sing. forms । अमूहिन्तो, अमूसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—as inst. sing. । अमूणं, अमूण ॥ ७—as inst. sing. । अमूसुं, अमूसु ॥ (c) Neut. १—अह, अयु' । अमूहं, अमूह, अमूणि ॥ २—अयु' । अमूह, अमूणि ॥ The rest as in masc. (3) शुष्मद् ॥ १—शुमं, तं । शुज्जे, शुम्हे ॥ २—तं(१), तुं, शुमं । शुज्जे, शुम्हे, वो ॥ ३—तद्, तए, तुए, शुमए, शुमे, शुमाइ, ते, दे । शुज्जेहिं, शुज्जेहि, शुम्हेहिं, शुम्हेहि, शुम्मेहिं ॥ ५—ततो, तद्तो, शुमादो, शुमाडु, शुमाहि । शुम्हाहिन्तो, शुम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—शुमो, शुह, शुज्ज, शुम्म, शुम्ह, ते, दे, शुव । वो, मे, शुज्जाणं, शुम्हाणं ॥ ७—तद्, तए, तुए, शुमए, शुमे, शुमस्मि, शुमस्ति' । शुज्जेसु, शुम्हेसु ॥ (D) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं, हं, अहअं, अहस्मि, मि । अम्हे (Saut. वअ') ॥ २—मं, ममं, अहस्मि, मि । अम्हे, यो, यो ॥ ३—मे, मए, मइ, ममाइ । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—मत्तो, मद्तो, ममादो, ममाडु, ममाइ । अम्हाहिन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मम, मह, मज्ज । यो, अम्ह, अहाणं, अम्हे, मज्ज, अम्हो ॥ ७—मइ, मए, ममस्मि, ममस्ति' । अम्हेसु ॥

Declension of Numerals. (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दो, दुवे, दोणि ॥ ३—दोहिं' ॥ ५—दोहिन्तो, दोसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—दोएहं, एह ॥ ७—दोसु ॥ (2) त्रि ॥ १, २—तिरिण ॥ ३—तोहिं' ॥ ४, ६—तिरिहं, एह ॥ ५—तीहिन्तो, तीसुन्तो ॥ ७—तीसु ॥ (3) चतुर् ॥ १, २—चत्तारो, चत्तारि ॥ ३—चऊहिं, चऊहिं' ॥ ५—चऊहिन्तो, चऊसुन्तो, चतुसुन्तो, चऊहिन्तो ॥ ४, ६—चऊएहं, एह, चतुएहं, एह ॥ ७—चऊसु, चतुसु ॥

Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Hemachandra *Pronouns*
(1) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—as in PP. ॥ २—सर्वं । सर्वे, सर्वा ॥ ३—सर्वेण, सर्वेण' । सर्वेहि, सर्वेहिं, सर्वेहिं ॥ ५—सर्वत्तो, etc as in वृद्ध । 'सर्वत्तो, etc. as in वृद्ध ॥ ४, ६—सर्वस्स । सर्वेसिं, सर्वाण, सर्वाणं ॥ ७—सर्वस्ति, सर्वस्मि, सर्वहिं, सर्वत्थ । सर्वेसु, सर्वेसुं ॥ (2) तद् (masc.) ॥ १—स, सो । ते, ये ॥ २—तं, णं । ते, ता, यो, या ॥ ३—तेण, येण, तिणा । तेहिं, etc, येहिं, etc. ॥ ५—तम्हा, ताओ, तो, ततो, तदो, तओ । तेहिं, etc ॥ ६—तस्स, तास, से । ताम, तेसिं, सिं ॥ ७—तस्ति, तस्मि, तत्थ, ताहे, ताता, तद्दया । तेसु, तेसुं, येसु, येसुं ॥ *Yod*

becomes *ja* (fem. *jā*, and in some cases *ḡ*); *kim*=*ka* (fem. *kā*, and in some cases *ki*), *idam*=*ima*; *etad*=*eya*, *ea*. These are declined like *sarva*. The peculiar forms are noticed below. *Kim* has in abl. sing. *hino* and *kisa*. *Idam* (masc.) has *ayam* and *imo* in nom. sing. It has in fem. nom. sing. *imiyā* and *imā*; in masc. acc. sing. *inam* and *inam*, in gen. sing. *assa* and *imassa*, in loc. sing. *assin*, *imassin* and *iha*, etc. It has also the defective forms from the base *ṇa* (cf. *tad*) in acc. sing. and plu. and in inst. sing. and plu. *ṣ*। *ये* ॥ *येण*। *येहि* ॥ *Etad*+*su*=*esa*, *eso*, *inam*, *inamo*, *eam*, *esā*. *Idam*, *tad* and *etad* have in gen. sing. *se* and in gen. plu. *sm*. *Etad*+*nasi*=*ettāhe*. *Adas*+*su*=*amu*, *aha*; masc. loc. sing. *ayamm*, *iyamm*, *amumm*.

बुध्यद् ॥ १—त', तु', तुव', तुह', तुम'। मे, तुम्मे, तुज्ज', तुम्ह', तुम्हे, उम्हे, तुम्हे, तुज्जे ॥ २—त, तु', तुम', तुव', तुह', तुमे, तुए। वो, तुज्ज', तुम्मे, तुम्हे, उम्हे, मे ॥ ३—मे, दि, दे, ते, तद्, तए, तुम', तुमद्, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाद्। मे, तुम्मेहि', उज्जेहि', उम्हेहि', तुम्हेहि', उम्हेहि' तुम्हेहि', तुज्जेहि' ॥ ५—(*to*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *ā* are to be added to the five bases तद्, तुव', तुम', तुह', and तुम्म and to तुम्ह' and तुज्ज' to get the forms), तहत्तो, etc (*hi*, *ā* are not allowed with तद्), तुवत्तो, etc., तुमत्तो, etc., तुहत्तो etc., तुम्मत्तो, etc., तुम्हत्तो, etc., तुज्जत्तो, etc., also तत्तो, also तुम्ह', तुम्म', तहन्तो, तुम्ह', तुज्ज'। (*to*, *do*, *du*, *hi*, *hinto* and *sunto* are to be added to the bases तुम्म, तुम्ह', उम्ह', उम्ह', तुम्ह' and तुज्ज' to get the forms) ॥ ४, ६—तद्, तु, ते, तुम्ह', तुह', तुह', तुव', तुम', तुमे, तुमो, तुमाद्, दि, दे, इ, ए, तुम्म, उम्म, उम्ह', तुम्ह', तुज्ज', उम्ह', उज्ज'। तु, वो, मे, तुम्म, तुम्म', तुम्माण', तुवाण', तुमाण', तुहाण', उम्हाण', तुम्माण', तुवाण', तुमाण', तुहाण', उम्हाण', तुम्ह', तुज्ज', तुम्ह', तुज्ज', तुम्हाण', तुम्हाण', तुज्ज्याण', तुज्ज्याण' ॥ ७—तुमे, तुमए, तुमाद्. तद्, तए, also other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases तु, तुव', तुम', तुह', तुम्म, तुम्ह' and तुज्ज', e g, तुम्मि, etc.। forms by adding *su* to तु, तुव', तुम', तुह', तुम्म, तुम्ह', तुज्ज', e g, तुवसु, तुवसु, तवेसु, etc ॥ अस्मद् ॥ १—मि, अमि, यम्हि, हं, अहं, अहयं। अम्ह', अम्हे, अम्हो, मो, वयं, मे ॥ २—णे, यं, मि, अमि, अम्ह', मम्ह', यं, मयं, मिमं, अहं। अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह', ये ॥ ३—मि, मे, मय, ममए, ममाद्, मद्, मए, मयाद्, यो। अम्हेहि,

अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे, यो ॥ २.—forms by adding *ito, do, du, hi, hanto* and *ā* to the four bases मइ, मम, यह, मज्झ, e.g., यहतो, etc. (*hi, ā* are not allowed with मइ); मयत्तो, etc., also मत्तो । मयत्तो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो, ममासुन्तो, अम्हासुन्तो, ममेसुन्तो, अम्हेसुन्तो ॥ ४, ६—मे, मद, मम, यह, मह, मज्झ, मज्झं, अम्ह, अम्हं । यो, यो, मज्झ, अम्ह, अम्हं, अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्हाण, ममाण, महाण, मज्झाण, also अम्हाणु, etc. ॥ ७—मि. मद, ममाइ, मए, मे, other forms by adding loc. sing. affixes to the bases अम्ह, मम, मह, मज्झ, e.g., अम्हमि, etc. ॥ अम्हेसु, ममेसु, यहसु, मज्जेसु; also अम्हसु, etc., also अम्हासु etc. ॥

Numerals. एक—एक, एग; declined in sing like वृक्ष ॥ द्वि becomes दो or दे; in nom and acc. दुवै, दोरिण, वेरिण; inst. दोहिं, वेहिं; abl. दोहिंतो, वेहिंतो; gen. दोएहं, वेएहं; loc. दोसु, वेसु ॥ त्रि=ती ॥ चतुर has in nom. and acc. चत्तारो, चतरो, चत्तारि; and चकहिं, चकहिंतो, चतएहं, चकसु respectively in the remaining case-affixes.

Declension of Pronouns and Numerals in Pālī. *Pronouns.* (1) सर्व ॥

(a) *Masc.* १—सर्वो । सर्वे ॥ २—सर्वं । सर्वे ॥ ३—सर्वेन । सर्वेभि, सर्वेहि ॥ ५—सर्वम्हा, सर्वम्हा । सर्वेभि, सर्वेहि ॥ ४, ६—सर्वस्स । सर्वेसं, सर्वेसानं ॥ ७—सर्वम्हि, सर्वम्हिं । सर्वेसु ॥ *Voc* सर्व, सव्वा । सव्वा ॥ (b) *Fem* १—सव्वा । सव्वा, सव्वायो ॥ २—सर्वं । सव्वा, सव्वायो ॥ ३, ५—सव्वाय । सव्वाभि, सव्वाहि ॥ ४, ६—सव्वस्सा, सव्वाय । सव्वासं, सव्वासायं ॥ ७—सव्वस्सं, सव्वासं । सव्वासु ॥ (c) *Neut.* १, २—सर्वं । सर्वानि ॥ The rest is as in masc. (2) एतद् ॥ (a) *Masc.* १—एसो । एते ॥ २—एवं, एवं । एते ॥ The rest is as in सर्व (masc.), i.e., एत as सर्व ॥ (b) *Fem.* १—एसा । एता, एतायो ॥ २—एवं । एता, एतायो ॥ ३, ५—एताय । एताभि, एताहि ॥ ४, ६—एतिसाय, एतिसा, एताय । एतासं, एतासानं ॥ ७—एतिसं, एतस्सं, एतायं । एतासु ॥ (c) *Neut.* १, २—एवं । एते, एतानि ॥ (3) तद् ॥ (a) *Masc.* १—सो । ते, ने ॥ २—तं, नं । ते, ने ॥ ३—तेन, नेन । तेभि, तेहि, नेभि, नेहि ॥ etc The rest of both the bases त् and न is as सर्व (masc.) । (b) *Fem.* १—सा । ता, तायो ॥ तं, नं । ता, तायो ॥ ३, ५—ताय, नाय, [तस्सा, नस्सा, अस्सा] । तामि, ताहि, नाभि,

नाहि ॥ ४, ६—[तस्साय], तस्सा, [नस्साय, नस्सा], ताय, [नाय, अस्साय, अस्सा], तिस्साय, तिस्सा । तारं, तासानं, [नारं, नासानं, आरं, आसानं, सारं] ॥ ७—तस्सं, [तस्सा, नस्सं, नस्सा, अस्सं, अस्सा], तिस्सं, [तिस्सा, तायं, ताय, नारं, नाय] । तासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तं, नं । ते, तानि, ने ॥ (4) इदम् ॥ (a) Masc. १—अयं । इमे ॥ २—इमं । इमे ॥ ३—अनेन, इमिना । एमि, एहि, इमेमि, इमेहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्स, इमस्स । एस्सं, एस्सानं, इमेस्सं, इमेस्सानं ॥ ५—अस्सा, इमग्हा । plu. as inst. plu. ॥ ७—अस्सिं, इमस्सिं, इमग्हि । एसु, इमेसु ॥ (b) Fem. १—अयं । इमा, इमायो ॥ २—इमं । इमा, इमायो ॥ ३, ५—इमाय । इमामि, इमाहि ॥ ४, ६—अस्साय, अस्सा, इमिस्साय, इमिस्सा, इमाय । इमास्, इमासानं ॥ ७—अस्सं, इमिस्सं, इमायं । इमासु ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—इदं, इमं । इमे, इमानि ॥ (5) युष्मद् ॥ १—त्वं, तुवं । तुम्हे ॥ २—तं, तवं, तुवं, त्वं । तुम्हाकं, तुम्हे ॥ ३, ५—त्वया, तया । तुम्हेहि, तुम्हेमि ॥ ४, ६—तव, तुम्हं, तुम्हं । तुम्हाकं, तुम्हं ॥ ७—त्वयि, तयि । तुम्हेसु ॥ (6) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं । मयं, अम्हे ॥ २—मं, ममं । अम्हाकं, अम्हे ॥ ३, ५—मया । अम्हेमि, अम्हेहि ॥ ४, ६—मम, ममं, अम्हं, ममं । अम्हाकं, अम्हं ॥ ७—मयि । अम्हेसु ॥

Numerals. (1) द्वि ॥ १, २—दुवे, डे ॥ ३, ५—द्वीमि, द्वीहि ॥ ४, ६—द्विन्नं, दुविन्नं, [द्विन्नं] ॥ ७—द्वीसु ॥ (2) त्रि ॥ (a) Masc. १, २—तयो ॥ ३, ५—तीमि, तीहि ॥ ४, ६—तिष्णं, तिष्णन् ॥ ७—तीसु ॥ (b) Fem. १, २—तिस्सो ॥ ४, ६—तिस्सिन्नं ॥ (c) Neut. १, २—तीनि ॥ (3) चतुर ॥ (a) Masc. १, २—चत्वारो, चतुरो ॥ ३, ५—चत्तमि, चत्तहि ॥ ४, ६—चतुन्नं ॥ (b) Fem. १, २—चतस्सो ॥ ४, ६—चतस्सन्नं, [चतुन्नं, चतस्सन्नं] । (c) Neut. १, २—चत्तारि ॥

Epigraphic Prakrit. Pronouns Forms noticed in records of different periods are given. There is great confusion in regard to gender (1) अस्मद् ॥ १—अहं, इहं, अहो । मये, अम्हो, अम्हे ॥ २—सं । अफे, अफेनि ॥ ३—मया, ममया (Hem, III, 109), मे, मयाये, ममिया, ममियाये, मम, ममा, हमियाये । अम्हेहिं, अम्हेहि ॥ ५—मयते ॥ ६—मम, मे, ममा, मम, ममं, इमा, महि, महिय, मयि । ने, अफाक, अफाका, अम्हं ॥ ७—Pl. अफेसु, अफेसु ॥ (2) युष्मद् ॥ १—तुयो । तुफे, फे ॥ २—Pl. तुफे, तुफेनि ॥ ३—तुओ ।

वृफेदि ॥ ४—Pl. वे ॥ ६—तहि, दहि, तेहि । वृफाक, वृफाकं, वृफक ॥ ७—Pl.
 वृफेसु ॥ (3) तद् (maso.) । १—स, सा, से, सो, ते । से, ते, तानि ॥ २—तं ।
 ३—तेन, तेना । ४—ताय, ताये । तेहि ॥ ५—तफा, ता, तदे । तेहि ॥ ६—तस,
 तसा, तिस्स । तेस, तेस', तानं, तन ॥ ७—तम्हि, तसि । तेषु ॥ (4) तद् (neut.) ।
 १—त, तं, से, सो । २—स, से, तं, सो । स, से, तानि ॥ (5) तद् (fem.) ।
 १—सा । २—तं । ४—ताये ॥ (6) Secondary base of तद् [and इदम्]
 (cf. पाणिनि १।४।३४ on इदम्) । २—नं । ने (maso.), नानि (neut.) ॥ Cf.
 Pāli, and Hem., III, 70, 77. (7) एतद् (maso.) । १—एस, एसा, एसे ।
 एत, एते, एदे ॥ २—एतं ॥ ३—एतेन, एतेनि, एतेना, एतकेन, एतकेना । एतेहि ॥
 ४—एताय, एतिय, एताये, एतकाय, एतकाये ॥ ६—एतस, एतिस, एतिसा, एदस ।
 एतेस, एताण, एतेसि ॥ ७—एतम्हि, एतसि । एतेसु ॥ (8) एतद् (neut.) ।
 १—एत, एतं, एस (Hem., III, 85), एसा, एसे, एतके । एते, एतानि ॥ २—एत,
 एतं । एतानि ॥ (9) एतद् (fem.) । १—एस, एसा, एसाका ॥ ६—से, स ।
 एतासा ॥ ७—एतये, एतस्य ॥ (10) इदम् (maso.) । १—अयं, इय, इयं, एयं,
 अयि, इमो । इमे ॥ २—इम, इमं ॥ ३—इमेन, ०ण, इमिना । इमेहि ॥
 ४—इमाये, इमाया ॥ ५—इमु, इतः, इमदे ॥ ६—इमस, इमसा, इमिस, अस । इमेस ॥
 ७—इमम्हि ॥ (11) इदम् (neut.) । १—इद, इदं, इयं, इयो, अयं, इम, इमं,
 इमो । इमानि ॥ २—इदं, इमं ॥ (12) इदम् (fem.) । १—इयं, अयं,
 अय, अयि । इमा ॥ २—इमं ॥ ४—इमाय, इमाये, इमिस । इमाया ॥ ५—
 एतो, अतो, अदेहि ॥ ७—असि, इरा, इरो, इमनि, इमस्मिं, इज, इरोमि ॥ (13) यद्
 (maso.) । १—यो (also fem.), ये यं, य, ए । या, ये, ए ॥ २—यं ॥ ३—येन,
 एन ॥ ४—जतो ॥ ६—यस, अस, असा, यसे । येस, येस', येपा ॥ ७—Pl. येमु ॥
 (14) यद् (neut.) । १—य, यं, ये, यो, ए, अ, यं । यानि, आनि ॥ २—य, यं, यो, अं,
 ए ॥ Cf. यंच=च ॥ (15) किम् । १—कि (neut.) ॥ २—Pl. कानि (maso and
 neut.) ॥ Cf. कश्चित्=कश्चि, कोचि । केचित्=केछि, केछ, केछा । किञ्चित् (कश्चित्)=
 किचि, किछि, किंचि, किछि, इंचि, इंचियं । कानिचित्=केचि, कानिचि ॥ किमिति=किति,
 किंति, i.e., that (conjunction), in order that. कं=expletive. केन-खित्=
 किनसु । कथम्=किमं, किमं । केनापि=केनपि ॥ (16) अन्यद् (maso.) । १—
 अन्ये, अने, अंने, अने, अयि । अंने, अने, अने, अने (later अन्ने) ॥

३—Pl. अवेहि ॥ ४—अनाय, अनाये, अनाये ॥ ६—अमम, अनमा, अनेस । अनानं ॥ ७—अजहि । अनेसु ॥ (17) अन्यत् (neut.) । १—अन, अने, अम, अरं, अये । अनानि, अनानि ॥ २—Pl. अनानि ॥ (18) सर्व (masc.) ॥ १—सर्वे, मन्ने, मवे । २—सर्वं, सज्जं ॥ ३—सवेन, सवेना ॥ ६—सवस । सविण ॥ ७—सर्वे, सवे, सवमि । सवेसु, मन्नेसु ॥ (19) सर्व (fem.) । १—सवा ॥ ७—सवाये, •यि ॥ (20) सर्व (neut.) । १—सवे, सर्वं, सवं, सव, मन्ने ॥ २—सर्वं, सर्वं, मन्ने ॥

Numerals (1) एह ॥ १—एवो or एके (masc.), इवा or एका (fem.) ॥ २—एकं (neut.), इकं (fem.) ॥ ३—एनेन, एकनेन ॥ (2) द्वि । १—द्वो (masc.), द्वे (fem.), दुवे (masc and neut.), दुवि (masc and fem.), वे (neut.) ॥ ३—दुवेहि (masc.) ॥ ६—दिन ॥ Cf. द्वितीय=दुतिय, दुतोय, वितिय, द्विति । द्विपद=दुपद । उभययो=उभयेय, उभयेन ॥ (3) त्रि । १—त्री or त्री or त्रयो (masc.), त्रिनि, or •त्रिण (neut.), त्रिनि (masc and neut.) ॥ २—त्रिनि (neut.) ॥ ७—Pl. त्रीसु (fem.) ॥ Cf. त्रयेसु, त्रिति ॥ (4) चतुर । चत्पारा or चत्तालि or चतुरे (masc.), चत्तारि । चतुहि । चतुंषं, चतुस्रं । Cf. चतुये ॥ Cf. पंचसु । सप्त । मतानि, गतेहि, सतेसु । महत्तानि, महत्तानि, महत्तेहि, सत्तेसु, महत्तेसुं । इत्ते । एकतरे, एकतरमि । Cf. पञ्च=पञ्चम । पानंतरोय । अठ । सट्स, बारमक, दुवाडस, द्वादस, बारमम । बीषाय । वयोदगम, तेरस, लेडस, लोदम । द्वालीसत । पनविप्ताहि । अठतिपाय । चौयठि । मतरि ॥

Cf. नास्ति कर्मेतर मर्वलोद्धितेन । कुर्वन् तु उदम् अन्यत्र अभ्येण पराक्रमेण । गान्धिथ्री । यौदमएडपं प्रतिष्ठापित । गतोस्मि वरंतुं पुष्कराणि । सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति) । कदम्बाना (=कदम्बवंशीय.) मयूरसर्गा । भुञ्जमानस्य मे (=भुञ्जमाने मयि or भुञ्जमानं मां) प्रतिवेदयन्तु । माधुमता देवानांप्रियस्य । कर्तव्यमत्तं मे । ययाकालेन (=ययाकालं), etc.

सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ।—तिङ् विधिः ॥

Chapter VII—Conjugation.

स-तिपोस्तिवैतौ ॥१॥ *I and e are mutually substituted for ta (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. ātmanepada) and tūp (3rd pers. sing. parasmaipada).* पठति, पठते=पठद्, पठए ॥ Cf. S. 5.

थास्तिषोः सिसे ॥२॥ *Si and se are mutually substituted for*

thās (2nd pers. sing. *ātmano*) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing. *parasmai*)
पठसि, पठसे=पठसि, पठसे ॥ Cf. S. 5

इट्मिपोर्मिः ॥३॥ *Mi* is substituted for *it* (1st pers. sing. *ātmano*)
and *mip* (1st pers. sing. *parasmai*) पठामि, पठे=पठामि ॥

न्ति-हेत्या-मो-मु-मा बहुषु ॥४॥ Var leot. न्ति-ह-या-मो (K) ॥ In the
plural number of the present tense, *nti* is used for the 3rd pers., *ha*
and *titthā* for the 2nd pers., and *mq*, *mu* and *ma* for the 1st pers.,
पठन्ति=पठन्ति ॥ पठय=पठह, पठित्वा ॥ पठाम=पठामो, पठामु, पठामो (cf. S. 31) ॥
K. reads *tha* instead of *titthā*. बर्द्धय=बर्द्धह, बर्द्धय ॥

अत ए से । ५॥ *E* of S. 1 and *se* of S. 2 are only substituted when
they follow a root ending in *a*, and not otherwise रमए, पठए; but
होए (cf. VIII, 1) and not होए । रमसे, पठसे; but होसि and not होसे ॥

अस्तेर्लोपः ॥६॥ When the substitutes for *thās* and *sip* (S. 2)
follow, the root *as* is elided वुत्तः असि=वुत्तो सि ॥ In Aśokan records,
asti is sometimes used for *santi*, sometimes instead of the conjunction
va (or), and sometimes as a particle opening a sentence

मि-मो-मु-मानाम् अथो हस्व ॥७॥ *H* is to be used immediately after
the *m* in the affixes *mi*, *mo*, *mu* and *ma*, when they follow the root
as which is elided (S. 6) गतः अस्मि=गमो मि । गताः एव=गम्य म्हे, गम्य म्हु,
गम्य म्हु ॥

यक ईय-इज्जौ ॥८॥ *Ia* and *ija* are substituted for *yaL* (affix of the
Bhāva-vācya and *Karma-vācya*, i.e. the passive voice), and the
personal affixes are added to them. पठ्यते=पठीयह, पठिज्जह ॥ Cf. IIam.
दृश्यते=दीसह, उच्यते=वुक्कह ॥

नान्त्य-द्वित्वे ॥९॥ The above substitutions for *yaL* (S. 8) do not take
place when the final consonant of the root is doubled. हृत्पते=हृत्पह; ;
गम्यते=गम्यह ॥ But cf. *infra*, VIII, 58, for the optionality indicated
as to the doubling of the final consonant of the roots *gam*, etc गमीयह,
गमिज्जह ॥ Such forms are allowed when the final consonant of the
root is not doubled.

न्त-माणौ शतृ-शानचोः ॥१०॥ *Nta* and *māṇa* are mutually substituted for *latr* and *śānach*, affixes of the present participle. पठत्, पठमान=पठन्तो, पठमाणो ॥ हसत्, हसमान=हसन्तो, हसमाणो ॥

ई च स्त्रियाम् ॥११॥ *I* (also *nta* and *māṇa* with the affixes of the feminine) is substituted for *latr* and *śānach* when they are used in the feminine हसन्ती=हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा । वेपमाना=वेपई, वेपन्ती, वेपमाणा ॥ Hem also gives हसमाणी, etc which are allowed by *supra*, V, 24

जातोर्भविष्यति हिः ॥१२॥ *Hi* is to be used after the root in the future tense, and the affixes of the present tense should be added to it. भविष्यति=होहिर्, भविष्यन्ति=होहिन्ति । हसिष्यति=हसिहिर्, हसिष्यन्ति=हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf. S 33 for the forms हसेहिर्, हसेहिन्ति, etc

उचमे स्ता हा च ॥१३॥ *Sā* and *hā*, as well as *hi*, are to be used after the root in the 1st pers of the future tense (*lṛit*), and the conjugational affixes of the present are to be added to them. भविष्यामि=होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि (S. 3) । भविष्यामः=होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो ; होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु ; etc. (S. 4) ॥

मिना स्त्वं वा ॥१४॥ In the 1st pers sing of the fut, *ssam* may be optionally used after the root superseding the conjugational affix *mī*. भविष्यामि=होस्त्वं (Bh), होहिस्त्वं (K) ; also होस्सामि, होहामि, होहिमि ॥

मो-मु-मैर्हिस्त्वा हित्या ॥१५॥ In the 1st pers. plu of fut, *hissā* and *hitthā* may be used optionally after the root instead of *mo*, *mu* and *ma*. भविष्यामः=होहिस्त्वा, होहिह्या ; also होहिमो, होहिमु, होस्सामो, होस्सामु, होहामो, होहामु ॥

कृ-द्वा-भ्रु-वचि-गमि-रुदि-दशि-विदि-रूपाणां काहं दाहं सोच्छं घोच्छं गच्छं रोच्छं दच्छं वेच्छं ॥१६॥ Var lect वचि दशि= ॥ [K omits विदि and its substitute वेच्छं (var. lect वोच्छं) ॥] In 1st pers sing. of fut., *lāham* etc. are substituted for *kṛ*, etc करिष्यामि=काहं ; दास्यामि=दाहं ; ओष्यामि=सोच्छं ; वक्ष्यामि=वोच्छं, गमिष्यामि=गच्छं ; रोदिष्यामि=रोच्छं ; दक्ष्यामि=दच्छं ; वेत्स्यामि=वेच्छं ॥ K ओक्ष्यामि=ओच्छं ; ओष्यामि=ओच्छं ॥

भ्रु-वादीनां त्रध्वप्यनुस्वारवर्जं हि-लोपश्च वा ॥१७॥ In the fut. of all

persons, *śru*, etc are changed to *sochchham*, etc.; but the *anusvāra* is elided and *hi* (S 12) is optionally elided ओष्यसि=सोच्छिद्, सोच्छिद्हि; ओष्यन्ति=सोच्छिन्ति, सोच्छिद्हिन्ति; ओष्यसि=सोच्छिसि, सोच्छिद्दिसि; ओष्यथ=सोच्छित्था, सोच्छिद्दित्था (cf var lect of S 4), ओष्यामि=सोच्छिमि सोच्छिद्दिमि; ओष्यामः=सोच्छिमो, etc (cf. S 13-15) ॥ Similarly वोच्छिद्, वोच्छिद्हि, etc. ॥ K — सोच्छद्; सोच्छद्दिसि; सोच्छेसि; ओच्छिन्ति; सोच्छिद्हिन्ति ॥

उ सु मु विध्यादिष्वेकवचने ॥१८॥ In the sense of *vidhi* (command), etc., i e. in the imperative mood (*lot*), etc, *u*, *su* and *mu* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers sing for the proper singular affixes. हसतु=हसद् । हस=हससु । हसामि=हमसु ॥ होढ; होसु; होमु ॥ Hem. alternately suggests *hi* for *su* देहि; देसु ॥ In the case of roots ending in *a*, alternately also हसेज्जसु, हसेज्जहि and हसेज्जे for हससु ॥

न्तु ह मो बहुषु ॥१९॥ In the sense of command, etc, *ntu*, *ha* and *mo* are respectively substituted in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st pers plu for the proper affixes of the plural हसन्तु=हसन्तु । हसथ=हसह । हसाम=हसामो ॥

वर्त्तमान-भविष्यदनद्यतनयोज्जं उजा वा ॥२०॥ In the present (*lat*) and definite future (*lrst*) and in the sense of command etc, *jja* and *jjā* are optionally substituted for the proper affixes Pres. भवति=होब्ब, होब्बा; also होइ (cf VIII, 1); हसति=हसेब्ब, हसेब्बा; also हसद् ॥ Fut. भविष्यति=होब्ब, होब्बा; also होहिद् ॥ Imperative भवतु=होब्ब, होब्बा; also होढ ॥ Note that in Pāli *jya* (= *jja*, *jjā*), the affix of the *vidhi* (potential or optative mood), has been generalised to denote present and future and also imperative, etc Cf. Pāli optative forms like मासेय्य, विहिसेय्य ॥

मज्जे च ॥२१॥ In pres. and definite fut. and in the sense of command, etc, *jja* and *jjā* are optionally inserted between the root and the affixes. Pres. भवति=होब्बद्, होब्बाद् ॥ Fut भविष्यति=होब्बद्दिह, होब्बाद्दिह । Imper. भवतु=होब्बज्ज, होब्बाज्ज ॥ This rule is ignored by K. According to Hem होब्ब and होब्बा stand for भवति, भवेत्, भवतु, अभवत्, अभूत्, वभूव, भूयात्, भविता, भविष्यति ॥ *Jja* and *jjā* are prefixed to all conjugational

terminations in the case of the vowel-ending roots (cf. S 22) Hem gives होज्जइ, होज्जेइ and होज्जाइ for optative.

नानेकाच्चः ॥२२॥ *Jya* and *jjā* are not inserted between the root and the affixes (S 21), except when the root ends in a vowel and is therefore monosyllabic. Note that the roots ending in a consonant become dissyllabic by the addition of a vowel हस्=हस—हसइ (K हसेइ; cf. S 34) । त्वर=तुवर—तुवरइ ॥ But they may be employed as finals (S. 20). हसेच्च, हसेच्चा ; तुवरेच्च, तुवरेच्चा ॥

ईय भूते ॥२३॥ *Ia* is substituted for the affix after a root in the past tense (*lan*, etc.). अमवत्=ह्वोअ ; अहसत्=हसीअ ॥ Hem. gives सी, ही, हीअ for the vowel-ending and ईय for the consonant-ending roots (cf. *infra*, S 24) अल्वन्वी, गच्छिं, गच्छन्तु (plu.) are found in literature.

एकाचो हीअ ॥२४॥ In the past tense (*lan*, *lun*, *lit*), *hīa* is substituted for the conjugational affix after a monosyllabic root. अकरोत्, अकरोत्, अकार=काहीअ ; also काली, काही (S. 23) । अभूत्, अमवत्, अभूव=होहीअ, also ह्वीअ (S. 23) ॥

अस्तेरासिः ॥२५॥ Var lect. अरासी ॥ *As* (Bh.) or *ast* (K.) is substituted for the root *as*, to exist, in 3rd pers sing. in the past tense. आसीत्=आसि (Bh.) , आसी (K.) ॥ Hem. gives आसि and अहेसि for all persons and numbers

णिच एदादेरत् आत् ॥२६॥ *E* is substituted for the causal affix *nich* and an *a* in the first syllable of the root becomes *ā* कारयति=कारेइ ; हासयति=हासेइ ॥

आवे च ॥२७॥ *Āve* (as well as *e*) is also substituted for *nich*. हासयति=हसावेइ ; also हासेइ (S 26) ॥ Hem gives *a*, *e*, *āva* and *āve*. दरिइ । करावइ । करावेइ, करावेइ ॥

आविः क-कर्म-आवेषु वा ॥२८॥ *Āvi* is optionally substituted for *nich* followed by *lta* (the affix of the past participle) and when the *Karma** and *Bhāva-vāchya* (1 e, the passive voice) are signified. Past Participle—कारित=कराविअ, also कारिअ । हासित=हसाविअ (K. हासाविअ),

हासिञ्च' ॥ Cf S. 32. Passive Voice—कार्यते=कराविञ्च, also कारिञ्च । हास्यते=हसाविञ्च, हासिञ्च ॥

नैदावे ॥२६॥ *E* and *ave* are not substituted for *nch* followed by *kta* or in the passive voice. कारित=कारिञ्च', कराविञ्च' ॥ कार्यते=कारिञ्च, कराविञ्च ॥

अतः आ मिपि वा ॥३०॥ *A* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root ending in *a* before *map* (pres 1st pers sing.) हसामि ; हसमि ; also हसेमि (S. 34) ॥ Hem also हसं (III, 141).

इच्च बहुषु ॥३१॥ *I* (as well as *ā*) is substituted for the final *a* in the 1st pers. plu. of the present tense. हसिमो, हसामो; हसिमु, हसामु ॥

को ॥३२॥ *I* is substituted for the final *o* of a root before *kta* (affix of the past participle). हसित=हसिञ्च', पठित=पठिञ्च' ॥

ए च क्वा-तुमुन्-तव्य-भविष्यतस्तु ॥३३॥ *E* (as well as *ε*) is substituted for the final *a* of a root before *ktivā* (affix of the gerund), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive), *tavya* (affix of the future participle) and in the future tense. हसित्वा=हसेऊण, हसिऊण । हसितुं=हसेउं, हसिउं । हसितव्य=हसेअव्वं, हसिअव्वं । हसिष्यति=हसेहिइ, हसिहिइ ; हसिष्यन्ति=हसेहिन्ति, हसिहिन्ति ॥ Cf S. 12-17 for forms of the future tense and *supra*, IV, 28 for *ktivā*

लादेशो वा ॥३४॥ *E* is optionally substituted for the final *a* of a root wherever it is followed by any affix of any person of any tense हसति=हसेइ, हसइ । हसतु=हसेउ, हसउ ॥ K हसेअन्तो, हसन्तो ; हसेमाणी, हसमाणी ; भुवन्त' (cf S 10, 11), भुवेन्त' ॥

NOTES

Prakrit Moods and Tenses The forms of the *bhavad* class have largely influenced Prakrit conjugation. Only *lat* (pres. imperfect tense), *lot* (imperative mood together with *vidhān*, i.e., optative or potential mood) and *lrit* (second future tense) are most apparent in Prakrit. The present is used for all tenses and the optative for all tenses and moods. Other tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar such as *lan* (past imperfect or first preterite), *lṛn* (conditional mood), *luṭ* (first or periphrastic future), *āfirin* (benedictive), *lit* (past perfect or second preterite) and *lun* (aorist or third preterite) are obscure. Forms

in *Ita* with the auxiliary verb are largely employed. But some of the conjugational classes of roots and of the tenses and moods are represented in Pāli and in early inscriptions Pāli, e.g., has seven or eight classes of roots instead of the ten *ganās* of Sanskrit grammarians. They correspond to the Sanskrit *bhṛvādi* [including *adādi*, *juhotyādi* and *tudādi*], *rudhādi*, *divādi*, *svādi*, *kṛyādi*, *tanādi* and *churādi gaṇa*. The Pāli class called *gaḥādi* is included in the Sans *kṛyādi gaṇa*. The *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* forms of conjugation, not observed in Prakrit, are clear in Pāli. Again, Pāli has retained no less than eight tenses and moods instead of the ten *lakṣṇas* of Sanskrit. They are called *vibhaktas*, e.g., *varitamānā* (present), *pañohamī* (imperative), *saptamī* (optative), *parokṣhā* (past perfect), *hyastanā* (past imperfect), *adyatanā* (aorist), *bhaviṣyati* (future) and *kalātiprāpti* (conditional). The use of *let* (Vedic subjective) is found in Aśokan Prakrit.

Vararuchi's Conjugation. (1) हस् ॥ लट् (present tense)—3rd pers हसद्, हसए, हसेद्, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसन्ति, हसेन्ति ॥ 2nd pers हससि, हसेसि, हससे । हसेद्, हसेत्था, हसेथ, हसद्, हसित्था, हसथ ॥ 1st pers हसामि, हसमि, हसेमि । हसेमु, हसेमो, हसेम, हसामु, हसामो, हसाम, हसिमो, हसिमु, हसिम ॥ लोट् etc (imperative mood, etc.)—3rd pers हसत, हसेत, हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा (Sauli हसद्) । हसन्तु, हसेन्तु ॥ 2nd pers हससु, हसेसु (of Hem, *infra*, p 78) । हसद्, हसेद् ॥ 1st pers हसमु, हसेमु । हसामो, हसमो, हसेमो ॥ लृट् (future tense)—3rd pers हसेहिद्, हसिहिद् हसेज्ज, हसेज्जा । हसिहिन्ति, हसेहिन्ति ॥ 2nd pers हसिहिसि, हसिहिसे । हसिहित्था, हसिहिद्, हसिहित्थ ॥ 1st pers हसिस्स', हसेस्स' हसिस्सामि, हसिहामि, हसिहिमि, हसेहिमि, हसेहामि, हसेस्सामि । हसिहित्था, हसिहित्था, हसेहित्था, हसेहित्था, हसिहिमो, हसिस्सामो, हसिहामो, हसेहिमो, हसेस्सामो, हसेहामो ॥ लङ् (past tense)—3rd pers हसीय ॥ etc. शिच् (causative)—3rd pers. sing pres हासद्, हासावेद्, हासावेद् ॥ etc. क्त (past participle)—हसिअ' ॥ शिच्+क्त—हासिअ', हासायिअ' ॥ क्ता (absolutive)—हसेकय, हसिकय ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—हसेउ', हसित' ॥ तव्य (future participle)—हसेअव्व', हसिअव्व' ॥ भावकर्मवाच्य (passive voice)—3rd pers. sing हस्सद्, हसीयद्, हसिज्जद् ॥ शतृ-शानच्—Masc. हसन्तो, हसेन्तो, हसमाणो,

हसेमायो ॥ Fem. हसई, हसन्ती, हसमाणा, हसमायी ॥ (2) भू ॥ लट्—3rd pers. होइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जइ, होज्जाइ । होन्ति etc. ॥ 2nd pers. होसि । होइ, होथ ॥ 3rd pers. होमि । होमु, होम, होमो ॥ लोट्—3rd pers. होव, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जव, होज्जाव । होन्तु ॥ etc लट्—3rd pers होहिइ, होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जहिइ, होज्जाहिइ । होहिन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. होहिसि, होहिसे । होहिइ, होहित्था, होहित्थ ॥ 1st pers होस्स', होहामि, होस्सामि, होहिमि । होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो, होहिस्सा होहित्था, होस्सामु, होहामु, होहिमु, होस्साम, होहाम, होहिम ॥ etc लङ्—3rd pers. होहीअ, हुवीय ॥ (3) दृश् ॥ लट्—3rd pers दच्छिइ, दच्छइ, दच्छिहिइ । दच्छिन्ति, दच्छिहिन्ति ॥ 2nd pers दच्छसि, दच्छिहिसि । दच्छित्था, दच्छित्ति, दच्छइ, दच्छथ ॥ 1st pers दच्छं, दच्छमि, दच्छिहिमि, दच्छिस्स' । दच्छिमो, दच्छिहिमो, दच्छिमु, दच्छिहिमु, दच्छिम, दच्छिहिम, दच्छिस्सामो, दच्छिहामो, दच्छिस्सामु, दच्छिहामु, दच्छिस्साम, दच्छिहाम ॥ etc. (4) अस् ॥ लट्—3rd pers अस्ति । सन्ति ॥ 2nd pers. सि । त्व, इ, त्था ॥ 1st pers म्हि । म्हो, म्हु, म्ह ॥ लङ्—3rd pers. अस्ति, आसी ॥ etc.

Conjugation in Pāli भू ॥ लट् (present) active (*parasm.*). ३—भवति । भवन्ति ॥ २—भवसि । भवथ ॥ १—भवामि । भवाम ॥ But usually *bhū* is changed to *hū* and we have . ३—होति । होन्ति ॥ २—होसि । होथ ॥ १—होमि । होम ॥ Pres reflective or middle (*ātman*) ३—भवते । भवन्ते ॥ २—भवसे । भवन्हे ॥ १—भवे । भवाम्हे ॥ लोट् (imperative) active. ३—भवतु । भवन्तु ॥ २—भव, भवाहि । भवथ ॥ १—भवामि । भवाम ॥ Reflective ३—भवत्तं । भवन्तं ॥ २—भवस्सु । भवन्हो ॥ १—भवे । भवामने ॥ विचिलिद् (optative) active ३—भवेय्य, भवे । भवेय्यु' ॥ २—भवेय्यासि, भवे । भवेय्याथ ॥ १—भवेय्यामि, भवे । भवेय्याम ॥ Reflective. ३—भवेथ । भवेरं ॥ २—भवेथो । भवेय्यन्हो ॥ १—भवेय्यं । भवेय्याम्हे ॥ लिट् (past perfect) active ३—बभूव । बभूवु ॥ २—बभूवे । बभूवित्थ ॥ १—बभूव । बभूविम्ह ॥ Reflective ३—बभूवित्थ । बभूविरं ॥ २—बभूवित्थो । बभूविन्हो ॥ १—बभूवि । बभूविम्हे ॥ लृट् (past imperfect) active ३—अभवा । अभवू ॥ २—अभवो । अभवत्थ ॥ १—अभवं । अभवम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभवत्थ । अभवत्थु' ॥ २—अभवसे । अभवन्हं ॥ १—अभविं । अभवाम्हे (cf. अहुवम्हेसे) ॥ लृट् (aorist) active ३—अभवि, अभवी (of the alternate

forms अहोसि,- अह् । अभवु, अभविषु ॥ २—अभवो । अभवित्थ ॥ १—अभवि । अभविम्हा ॥ Cf. the alternate forms ३—अहोसि । अहेषु ॥ २—अहोसि । अहोसित्थ ॥ १—अहोसि । अहोसिम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अभव । अभवु ॥ २—अभवसे । अभन्विह ॥ १—अभव । अभविम्हे ॥ लट् (future) active. ३—अविस्सति (cf. the alternate forms होहिति, हेहिति, हेस्सति) । अविस्सन्ति ॥ २—अविस्ससि (cf. मोहिति) । अविस्सथ ॥ १—अविस्सामि । अविस्साथ ॥ Reflective. ३—अविस्सते । अविस्सन्ते ॥ २—अविस्ससे । अविस्सम्हे ॥ अविस्स । अविस्सम्हे ॥ लृट् (conditional) active ३—अमविस्सा, अमविस्स । अमविस्स'ड्ड ॥ २—अमविस्से । अमविस्सह ॥ १—अमविस्स' । अमविस्सम्हा ॥ Reflective. ३—अमविस्सथ । अमविस्सि'ड्ड ॥ २—अमविस्से । अमविस्सम्हे ॥ १—अमविस्स' । अमविस्साम्हसे ॥ शिच् (causative)—पच् । पाचैति, पाचयति, पाचापेति, पचापेति, पाचापयति ॥ स्था । ठपेति, ठपयति, ठापेति ॥ गम् । गमेति, गमयति, गच्छापेति, गच्छापयति ॥ सन् (desiderative)—पा । पिपासति, पिपासति ॥ दा । दिच्छति, दिच्छरे ॥ भुज् । बुभुक्षति ॥ यच् (intensive)—कम् । ककुम्भति ॥ गम् । जज्ञमति ॥ दृह्, दृह् । दहति ॥ नामधातु (denominative)—पञ्चता-यति, पुस्तकीयति ॥ गङ्गाकायति, चित्तचिटायति ॥ Participles शतृ-शानच्—कृ । करं, करन्तो, करमाण, करमाय, कुञ्चान ॥ भू । भवं, भवन्तो ॥ दा । ददमान ॥ कृ—पच् । पक्क ॥ कृ । कत ॥ हुह् । हुह ॥ वच् । वुत ॥ दा । दितो ॥ जर् । जितो ॥ ली । लीतो ॥ इच्छितो, वपितो, यायितो ॥ भुतवा । भुतवन्तो ॥ तन्य—दा । दातव्य ॥ नी । नेतव्य ॥ भू । भवितव्य ॥ अनीय—गमनीय, करनीय ॥ य—येय ॥ तुमुन् (infinitive)—लादितु', वदितु', गन्तु', सोतु' ॥ Infinitives in *love, faye, taye* which are remnants of old Vedic forms are found in Pāli and old inscriptions. गन्तवे, नेतवे, पहातवे, कातये, भरितुये, दक्खिताये ॥ क्ता (gerund)—नी । नेत्वा ॥ कृ । क्त्वा, क्तवान्, क्तल ॥ चिन्त । चिन्तिय ॥ भुज् । भुञ्जि ॥ भ्रु । भ्रुत्वा ॥

Conjugation from Hemachandra. Affixes of the Present Tense

३—इ, ए । न्ति, न्ते, हरे ॥ २—सि, से । इत्था, इ ॥ १—मि । मो, मु, म ॥ [असृ । ३—अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ २—सि, अत्थि । अत्थि ॥ १—म्हि, अत्थि । म्हो, म्ह, अत्थि ॥] Affixes of the Future Tense. ३—हिह, हिए । हिन्ति, हिन्ते, हिहरे ॥ २—हिसि, हिसे । हित्था, हिह ॥

१—स्स', स्सामि, हामि, हिमि । स्सामो, हामो, हिमो, स्साम, हाम, हिम, स्साम्, हाम्, हिम्, हिस्सा, हित्वा ॥ Affixes of the Imperative Mood.
३—उ । न्नु ॥ २—०, सु, इन्सु, इन्सि, इज्जे, हि । ह ॥ १—सु । सो ॥

Conjugation in Epigraphic Prakrit. (1) Indicative (लट्) । 1. **sing.** आनपयामि, अणुपेमि, करोमि, पलकमामि, दस्सामि, अनुसासामि, इक्कामि, कलामि, पटिवेस्सामि, विदहामि अभत्थेमि, विकिन्मि, लिहाम । 1 plu संभवेयम, वितराम, ददाम, ०दम ॥ 2. **sing** विंनवेसि । 2. plu पापुनाथ ॥ 3. **sing** करोति, छणति, याति, देखति, आनपयति, गरहति, पसति, भवति, भोति, होति, अस्ति, अयि, अठि, इच्छति, उपहनाति, पूजयति, पूजेति, निवत्तेति, वडियति, अनुनेति, ममति, मेमति, एति, अनुकंपति, ब्रह्मति, पटिपजति, पापुनाति, वेदयति, दुखीयति, इच्छ(च्छ)ति, अस्ति, नस्ति, वदाति, विसजति, विलासिति, यति, भिंदति, नयति, लिहति, देति, अणुमणयति, विंनवेति, होअति, प्रेवेति, परिओळति, हुअति, हरति (=धरति) । 3. plu इच्छति, प्राणयति पापुनात्, अनुवदंति, वसति, यंति, इच्छंति, कलंति, ब्रवंति, भोति, हुवंति, क्लेति, लभंति, देखंति, संपटिपादयंति, करंति, प्रेवंति, १ययंति (=तिष्ठन्ति), पलयंति, सरजितंति ॥ **Middle** (आत्मनेपद) . 3 **sing** कम्ते, मंनते, मन्ते, करोते । 3 plu करोते, आरभरे, अनुवतरे ॥ **PASSIVE** 3 **sing** पसवति, वुचति, खादियति, नीलखियति, गनीयति, कयियति, मिणयति, कसते, वसते, वुच्यति, हुअंति, भुयति, दिनदि (=दीयते) । 3. plu आरभरे, अनुविधियरे, अनुविधिंयति, अनुविधी०, अलमिसंति, हंति, आलमियंति ॥ (2) **Subjunctive** (लेट्) । 1. **sing** सुखापयामि, सुखायामि, सुखयमि, दिपयमि, आवहामी, अनुसासामि, सावापयामि । 2. plu निखिपाथ, पलियोवदाथ, विवासयाथ, विवासापयाथ । 3 **sing.** मंजा, सुसुसात्तु, हुवाति । 3 plu पलकमात्तु, निखमात् ॥ (3) **Optative** (विधिलिट्) । 1 **sing** गच्छेयं, येहं (✓ या), पटिपादयेहं (पटिपात्०), आलमेहं, ब्रचेयं, अभ्युनामयेहं । 1 plu दीपयेम (दिप०), गच्छेम, पटिपादयेमा (पटिपात्०), करेय्याम, करेज्जाम, करेजाम । 3 **sing** अस (=स्यात्), सिय, सिया, सियाति, सियति, भवे, तिसुटेय, निवटेया, पटिपजेया, अपकरेयति, उगच्छ(छे ?), दस्सेया, दस्सेय, उथाया, हुवेया, पापोया, पापोव, वढेया, वढेज, होज, सियति, स्यति, ०दि, करेज्ज, करेय्य, कारवेज्जा । 3 plu पक्सेयु, जानेयु, सियसु, असु (=स्यु-), वसेयु, हुवेयु, हवेयु, हुवेयु, हुवेयु, सुनेयु, सुसुसेयु, वसेयु, अवत्तपेयु, चलेयु, चलेयु लदेयु, लहेयु, वसेयु, असससयु, पापुनेयु

(०नेयु, ०नेय्), युजेयु (०जेय्, ०जेय्), आलाभयेय् (०य्), यायु, उपदहेयु, अनुगहिनेयु, पवतयेय्, करेजा, करापेजा, सियंति । Middle (आत्मनेपद) । 3 sing. पटि-
पजेय । 3 plu सुसुंसेर, सुसुसेयु ॥ Passive. 3. plu युजेयु, ०य्, यजेयु,
०य् ॥ (4) Imperative (लोट्) । 2. sing. परिहरहि, ०हरेहि, ओयपपेहि,
निवचापेहि । 2. plu. पटिवेदेय, रक्खष, रक्खापेधय, परिहरय, ०रापेधय,
आनपयाय, निवेदयाय, परिहरेय, ०रय, ०हरापेध, निवचापेय । 3. sing. होयु,
मोयु, अनुवतयु, ०वतयि, पटिपजंयु हुयु, विधिष्ययु (=वितिष्यतु) । 3. plu
युजंयु, आराधयंयु, नियायु, सुनार, निखमंयु, मनयु, रोचेयु, वेदेयु, परकमंयु,
निकमयु, मययु, अरचेयु, वेदयंयु । Middle (आत्मनेपद) । 3 sing. अनुविधियता
(passive), सुसुसता (desiderative) । 3 plu अनुवतरं ॥ Passive. 3. sing.
अनुविधियता, ०यु । 3 plu अनुविधियंयु, इजेयसु (cf सुयु) ॥ Desidera-
tive 3 sing सुसुसायु, ०सयु, ०सता ॥ (5) Imperfect (लृट्) । 1 sing
गतोस्मिं, ततोस्मिं गतो, गदेमि, अरोपेमि, भिसजिदेमि, ग्रहिदेमि, पिचविदेमि । 1. plu.
किन्म, यकिन्म । 2. sing. ग्रहितेसि 3 sing अहो (=अभवत्), असि
(=आसीत्) ॥ (6) Aorist (लुट्) । 1 sing हुसं, हुस । 3 sing निखमिषा,
निकमि, निखमि । (Middle. हुया, नडिया) । 3 plu हुसु, इक्षिषु,
अहुंषु, नयाषु, आरमिषु, निखमिषु, निकमिषु, अनुवमु. ममिषु, लोचेषु, अलोचयिषु ॥
Passive 3. plu आरमिषु, अरमिषु, अलंमिषु ॥ (7) Perfect (लिट्) ।
3 sing आह, आहा, अहा, अयाय (√ या, or लट् or लिट् of √ इ) ॥
(8) Future (लृट्) । 1. sing पत्तिमसयिषं, लिखापयिषं, कळामि (=कञ्जामि
=करिष्यामि), लिखापेसामि, क्वं, क्वमि, होसामि (०गी), लिखापयिसामि, लिखियि-
सामि, यक्षयमि । 1. sing. त्रेयिश्यम । 2 sing. ज्योपिष्यसि । 2 plu एसथ, एसह,
नवथ, आलापयिषथ (०था) । 3. sing वडिसि, वडिसिता, वडयिषति, वडियिषति,
वडिसति, आनपयिषति (आन=), हापेसति, कासति, कळति, कयति, होसति,
खमिसति, अतिकामयिषति, अभ्युनमिषति, अनुपटिपयिषति, सपटि=, चषति, माखति,
निवहिसति, ०हपयिषति, ओळिष्यति, करिषति । 3 plu वडयिषंति, अनु-
सासिषंति, कासंति, कसंति, कळति, वडंति (√ वज्), अनपेसंति, निखमिषंति,
युजिषंति, जानिषंति, वडिषंति, पटिचलिषंति, होषंति, होडति, वियोवदिषंति,
पलियो=, पविषलिषंति, दाहंति, चषंति, निष्कपयिषंति, गविषंति, ०सती ॥ Middle

(आत्मनेपद) । 3. sing. परिव्रजिष्यद् ॥ 3 plu. अनुव्रतिसरे । Passive. 3. plu. आरभिसरे आरभिमिषंति (आरं०). आरभिरति, अनुविधिषिरंति ॥ Many of the instances of tenses and moods are quoted from the records of Aśoka. Later inscriptions do not show variety of moods and tenses. Causative (including *churāda* roots). In *āya*, ६. पूजयति, पूजेतया, लोचेतय्या, पटिवेदेय, वरायित्वा, दीपयेय, आराधयंद् ॥ (2) In *āya*. सुखायामि । (3) In *payā*. ह्रापेयति, दापक, आनपयामि, निवहिपयिसति, रक्खापेयय, परिहरापेयय, निवधापेहि (4) In *āpa*, *āpayā* लिखापयिषं. खानापित, लेखापित, हारापित, खापापक, सुखापयामि । (5) In *pāpayā*. रोपायित, उरपायित । (6) In *īya*, दुखीयति । (7) In *āpāpayā* खानापयितानि. लिखापायिता । Of चोतेयति, वेतेयति, जुदियवि, विदियवि, उषवियवि, अनुवह्वेति, परिहारेहि, परिहारित, पीडापर्याप्त, वंदापयति, भोजापयिता, धातापयिता, जानित, आहारापयति, विवलिद्व, पाययति, कासयति, कारयति, कारापयति ॥ Denominative. तीक्ष्णत, तीक्ष्णत, मुखयित, सुखायना, सुखीयना, दुखीयना, महीयित, कर्मवेति, वशीकरोति ॥ शतृ—पुययंतो, वसतानं, वसनुधान, वसतानं, वैजयंतिये, सति, पसासतो, जनेतो, पसंतो, जनंद, जयंतस, संदसयंतो ॥ शानच्—भुजमान, विजिनमन, असमान, करमिन, अरामन, पकममिन, पलकममीन, पटिपादयमीन, अनुवेखमान, पायमीना, वधमान, अनुविधीयमाना, सुजमान, वर्त्तमान, वटमानक, समु-धापियमान ॥ कृ—कृत, कट, कृष्ट, कृद्, व्यापत, वियापट, वियपुट, विस्तत, विषट, कुत, संमात, संक्षित, निपेसित निपेसपित, अपवुड, हारापित, आनपयित, फिलंत, वियत (=व्यक्त), अपकठ, अक्षय, व्युड, विवुध, व्यूध, उपयित ; पसनं, विप्रहिन, उविगिन, पठिपनं, दिनं, दिन, पत्यासनं, पतियासनं, उपनं, पटिपुनं, फिलिन, वलेण, दिन्ना, अविपन्न, विविण, अभिविगाढ, संपुनं, बोद्धिनं ; खदे, निवधो, फुट, दित, हुता, निक्षित, दित, सकत, गद, करित, अफुट, हुंद, यिठ, भुत, अतित, नियन्त्रित, दिठ ॥

शतृ—दुपटिवेख, दुसंपटिपादय, आवासयिय, क्व, शक्, चक्, सक्रिय, चक्रिय, देखिय, लहिय, धारिय, देय, कर्ष, सर्वकिच ॥ अनीय—वेदनीय, अस्त्रासनिय, करंण, गरणिय, गहणि ॥ भुमुच्—आराधेय, छमितवे, बिस्संयितवे, खमितवे, आलापयितवे, पटिपादयितवे, समदपयितवे, मेतवे, पलिहटवे, वातवे, पापोतवे, निषेड, कारयितुं, मोचयितुं, विपमुचिर्तुं ॥ तन्व—कतन्व, प्रवृहितन्व, पूजेतय, कटविय, कटव, प्रयुहोतव, इक्षितविय, इक्षितय, विकेतविय, आपेतविय (✓चै), निक्षितविय, वक्षितविय, वक्षितविय, दयितविय,

गहितव, दद्व, कर्त्तव, विसजिद्व, ०देव, ओढिद्व, सिमिद्व, भविद्व, किनिद्व,
प्रहद्व, श्रुनिद्व, ०द्व, वरिद्व, कसितव्व, परिहरितव्व, परिहापेतव्व ॥

अष्टमः परिच्छेदः ।—धात्वादेशः ॥

Chapter VIII.—Prakrit Substitutes for Sanskrit Roots.

Note that some of the substitutes may be regularly derived from Sanskrit sources by applying rules of phonetics. Some of the Prakrit roots are Desi.

भुवो हो-हुवौ ॥१॥ *Ho* and *huva* are substituted for the root *bhū*, to exist भवति=होइ, हुवइ ॥ भवन्ति=होन्ति, हुवन्ति ॥

के हुः ॥२॥ Var. lect. के मृ (K.) or ०हु ॥ When followed by *lta* (affix of the past participle), *hu* or *hā* (Bh.) or *bhū* (K.) is used for the root *bhū*, भूत=हुअ' or हुअ' (Bh., Hem.). भूअ' (K.) ॥

मादेमवः ॥३॥ When preceded by *pra*, etc., *bhava* is substituted for the root *bhū*. पमवइ ; स'मवइ ; उच्चमवइ ; परिमवइ ॥

त्वरस्तुवरः ॥४॥ *Tuvāra* is substituted for *√tvar*, to hasten, तुवरइ ॥

के तुरः ॥५॥ When followed by *lta* (affix of the past participle), *tura* is substituted for the root *tvar*. तुरिअ' ॥ Cf. Ins. त्वरणा=तुलना ॥

घुणो घोळः ॥६॥ Var. lect. घूर्णोघोळः (K.) ॥ *Ghola* is substituted for the root *ghaṇ* (Bh.) or *ghāṇ* (K.), to roll. घोळइ, घोळन्ति ॥ Hem घुळइ, घोळइ, घुम्मइ, पहळइ ॥

नुदो णोळः ॥७॥ *Nolla* is substituted for the root *nud*, to send णोळइ ; णोळन्ति । णोळइ ॥ Some Ms^s read *loṇa* for *nolla*; cf. *supra*, IV, 29

दुडो दूमाः ॥८॥ *Dāma* is substituted for the root *dā*, to be pained दुयते=दूमइ ॥ Hem. also धवलवति=दूमइ, धवलइ ॥

पटेः फलः ॥९॥ Var. lect. पाटेः फलः (K.) ॥ *Phala* is substituted

for the root *pat*, to go, move. K. prefers *phāla* for the root *pāt* (the causative form of *pat*), to split, to tear asunder. पटित्=कलित् ॥ K.—पाटयति=कालेइ, पाटित्=कलित् ॥

पदे पाळः ॥१०॥ *Pāla* is substituted for the root *pad*, go move. पयत्=पालेइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K.

वृष-कृष-सृष-हृषामृतोऽरिः ॥११॥ *Ari* is substituted for the *ri* in the roots *vrish*, etc कर्षति=नरिसइ ; कर्षति=करिसइ ; मर्षति=मरिसइ ; हर्षति=हरिसइ ॥ Hem. कृषु=कइइ, साग्रइइ, अग्रइ, अणुच्छइ, अवच्छइ, माइच्छइ, करिसइ ॥

अनोऽरः ॥१२॥ Var. lect. अन्त्यस्यार. (K) ॥ *Ara* is substituted for *ri* in the roots that end in *ri*. मृ=मरइ ; सृ=सरइ ; हृ=वरइ ।

कृञः कृणो वा ॥१३॥ *Kun* is optionally substituted for the root *kṛi*, to do. करोति=कृणइ, also करइ ॥

जृमो जम्भायाः ॥१४॥ *Jambhā* is substituted for the root *jṛibh* (or *jṛimbh*), to yawn जृम्भते=जम्भाग्रइ । जृम्भन्ते=जम्भाग्रन्ति ॥ Hem. जम्भाइ, जम्भाग्रइ ॥ He has /जम्भा, cf. व्यञ्जनादन्ते, खरादनतो वा (IV, 239-40). Cf S. 71.

ग्रहेर्गोवहः ॥१५॥ *Genha* is substituted for *grah*, to seize ग्रीहाति=गेयइ ; ग्रीहन्ति=गेयहन्ति ॥ Hem. also gives ग्रीहति=वेपइ ॥

घेत् कृत्-तुमुन्-तव्येषु ॥१६॥ When followed by *ktvā* (affix of the indeclinable absolutive participle), *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle), *ghet* is substituted for *grah*. गृहीत्वा=वेत्तु । ग्रहितुम्=वेत्तु । ग्रहीतव्य=वेत्तव्य ॥

कृञः का भूत-भविष्यतोश्च ॥१७॥ In the past and future tenses and also before *ktvā*, *tumun* and *tavya*, *kā* is substituted for /*kṛi*. अकरोव=काहीअ (VII, 24) । कर्षयति=काहिइ । कृत्वा=काकण । कर्तुम्=काव । कर्तव्य=काव्य ॥

स्मरतेर्भर-सुमरौ ॥१८॥ *Bhara* and *sumara* are substituted for the root *smṛi*, to remember. स्मरति=भरइ, सुमरइ ॥ According to some later authors, the substitution does not take place when the root is preceded by an *upasarga* (preposition) विस्मरइ ॥ According to Hem

स्मरति=स्मर, स्मर, मर, मत्त, लब्ध, विम्हर, सुमर, पय, पम्हुह, सर ॥

विस्मरति=पम्हुत्त, विम्हर, वीसर ॥

भियो भा-वीहौ ॥१६॥ Var. leot. ०वीमौ ॥ *Bhā* and *vīha* are substituted for the root *bhi*, to fear. विनेति=भा, वीह ॥ K.—भा, बिभा, विने, वीह ॥ वीहन्ति ॥

जिघ्रते: पा-पाओ ॥२०॥ *Pā* and *pā* are substituted for the root *ghrā*, to smell जिघ्रति=पा, पाअ ॥ This *Sūtra* is not noticed by K. Hem. आजिघ्रति=आअघ, अअघ ॥

म्लै वा-वाओ ॥२१॥ *Vā* and *vā* are substituted for the root *mīa*, to wither म्लायति=वा, वाअ ॥ Hem. वा, पम्वाअ, मिला, मिलाअ ॥

तृप्स्थिम्पः ॥२२॥ *Thimp* is substituted for the root *trip*, to be pleased. तृप्ति=थिम्प ॥ Hem has थिम्प ॥

ज्ञो जाण-मुणौ ॥२३॥ *Jāna* and *muna* are substituted for the root *jñā*, to know जाणति=आण, मुण ॥ Some later authors give the substitutes *najja* and *nappa*. खण्ण, गुण्ण ॥

जल्पेलो मः ॥२४॥ *M* is substituted for the *l* of the root *jalp*, to speak articulately जल्पति=जम्प ॥

धा-ध्या-गार्ना ठाव-मात्र-गावाः ॥२५॥ *Thāa*, *jhāa* and *gāa* are respectively substituted for the roots *sthā* (*sthā*), to stand, *dhya*, to meditate, and *gas*, to sing तिष्ठन्ति=ठावन्ति। ध्यायन्ति=माअन्ति। गावन्ति=गाअन्ति ॥

ठा-मा-गाअ वत्तमान-मविप्यद्विध्याद्ये कवचनेषु ॥२६॥ *Thā*, *jhā* and *gā*, as well as *thāa*, *jhāa* and *gāa*, are severally substituted for the roots *sthā* (*sthā*), *dhya* and *gas* before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the future and present tenses. Pres तिष्ठति=ठा, ठाअ ॥ Fut. स्वास्तति=ठाहि, ठाअहि ॥ Imp तिष्ठतु=ठा, ठाअ ॥ फा, फाअ ॥ फाहि, फाअहि ॥ फाव, फाअव ॥ गा, गाअ ॥ गाहि, गाअहि ॥ गाव, गाअव ॥

खादि-ध्याव्योः खा-घौ ॥२७॥ *Khā* and *dhā* are respectively substituted for the roots *khā*, to eat and *dhāv*, to run, before the singular affixes of the imperative mood and the present and future tenses

according to Bh., but unrestrictedly according to K. Bh.—खादति=खाइ । खादिष्यति=खाहिइ । खादतु=खाठ ॥ भाइ । भाहिइ । भाठ ॥ K.—खाहन्ति । खाइ । खासु । खासु । खाठ । खाअप्पं । खासु । भाठ ॥ etc.

प्रसेर्विसः ॥२८॥ *Vīsa* is substituted for the root *gras*, to eat. प्रसते=विसइ ॥ Hem. विसइ, गसइ ॥

चिञ्चिणः ॥२९॥ *China* is substituted for the root *chi*, to gather. चिनोति=चिणइ ॥ K.—चिणोइ, चिणुए ॥ चिणन्ति । चिणामि ॥

क्रीञ्चः क्किणः ॥३०॥ *Kṛiṇa* is substituted for the root *kṛi*, to purchase. क्रीणाति=क्किणइ ॥ K. क्किणए । क्किणसे ॥ etc.

वेः क्क च ॥३१॥ Var. lect. के० ॥ *Kḷs*, as well as *kṛiṇa*, is substituted for the root *kṛi*, when it follows the preposition *वे*, i.e., for the root *vikṛi*, to sell. विक्रीणाति=विक्केइ (Hem. also विक्केअइ), विक्रिणइ ॥ Cf. III, 50 for the doubling of *k*. This Sūtra is ignored by K.

उद्धम उद्धमा ॥३२॥ *Uddhuma* is substituted for the root *dhmā*, to blow fire, preceded by the preposition *उ*, i.e., for the root *uddhāmā*. उद्धमति=उद्धमाइ ॥

अवो धो दहः ॥३३॥ *Daha* is substituted for the root *dāh* preceded by the particle *trād*, i.e., for the root *traddhā*, to respect, to believe. अहवाति=सइइइ । सइइअ ॥

अवाद् गाहेर्वाहः ॥३४॥ *Vāha* is substituted for the root *gāh*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for *avagāh*, to bathe. अवगाहते=ओवाइइ, अववाइइ ॥ Cf. IV. 21.

कासेर्वासः ॥३५॥ *Vāsa* is substituted for the root *kās*, preceded by the preposition *ava*, i.e., for the root *avalās*, to cough. अवकासते=ओवासइ, अववासइ ॥

निरो माङ्गे माणः ॥३६॥ *Māna* is substituted for the root *mā*, preceded by the preposition *mr*, i.e., for the root *mrāmā*, to make. निर्मायते=णिम्माअइ ॥ Hem. णिम्माणइ, णिम्मवइ ॥

क्षियो म्मिज्जः ॥३७॥ *Jhijja* is substituted for the root *ksḥi*, to destroy. क्षियोति=म्मिजइ ॥ Hem. म्मिजइ, म्मिज्जरइ ॥

मिदिच्छिदोरुत्स्य न्ः ॥३८॥ *Ada* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *blid*, to break, and *chid*, to cut. निर्नासि=मिन्दइ ; दिनामि=मिन्दइ ॥ Item. छिन्दइ, दुदावइ, मिच्छिन्नइ, निगमोदइ, मिच्यरइ, मिन्लूइ, लूरइ ॥

कथयेद्वैः ॥३९॥ *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *krath*, to boil. कथसि=कटइ ॥ Item. कटइ, ऋटइ ॥

वेष्टेष्ट ॥४०॥ *Dha* is also substituted for the final letter of the root *resh*, to surround वेष्टने=वेष्टइ ॥ Cowell suggests वेष्टइ, वेष्ट (III. 10), but cf. Item. IV, 221. K.—वेष्टणं ; परिवेष्टि ॥ Item वेष्टेइ, पश्चिमाष्टेइ ॥ The *yogaribhāga*, i.e., separation of *resh* from the previous rule, is for the continuation of the *adhikāra* of this Sūtra to the following Sūtra.

उत्-समोर्लः ॥४१॥ *La* is substituted for the final letter of the root *resh*, preceded by the prepositions *ut* and *sam*. उत्येष्टइ ; सवेष्टइ ॥

रुदेर्यः ॥४२॥ *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *rud*, to weep रोदिसि=रुइ ॥ K रुदेइ, रुविड' ॥ K also allows doubling of the r. रुवसि ॥

उद्यो यिजः ॥४३॥ Var. lect. ० निजे । *Va* is substituted for the final letter of the root *ud*, preceded by the preposition *ut*, i.e., for the root *ud* *ud*, to fear उद्दिजते=उदियिजइ (K. उद्वेइ) ॥

वृथेद्वैः ॥४४॥ *Dha* is substituted for the final letter of the root *rudh*, to increase. वरुदेते=वट्टइ ॥

हन्तेर्मः ॥४५॥ *Mma* is substituted for the final letter of the root *han*, to strike हन्ति=हम्माइ ॥

रयादीनां दीर्घता ॥४६॥ In the roots, *ruch*, etc., the vowel *r* lengthened. रुचसि=रुचइ । वृचसि=वृचइ । शृचसि=शृचइ ॥

चो मञ्ज-सृत्योः ॥४७॥ *Chcha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *raja*, to go, and *nat*, to dance राजसि=राजइ । नत्सि=नत्इ ॥ Item also मद—मदइ ॥

युधि-बुद्धयोर्भाः ॥४८॥ *Jha* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *yudh*, to fight, and *budh*, to know. युध्यते=बुध्यम् । बुध्यते=बुज्यम् ॥

रुधेर्ध-म्भौ ॥४९॥ *Ndha* and *mbha* are substituted for the final letter of the root *rudh*, to check. रुधति=रुध्वाद् ; रुम्भद् ॥

सुदो लाः ॥५०॥ *La* is substituted for the final letter of *√mṛd*, to grind सुद्राति=मलद् ॥ Hem. मलद्, मढद्, परिहृद्, खड्गद्, चड्गद्, मड्गद्, पनाडद् ॥

शङ्ख-पत्योर्डाः ॥५१॥ Var. lect. शङ्ख (K.) ॥ *Da* is substituted for the final letter of the roots *śad*, to decay, and *pat*, to fall. शीयते=सदद् । पतति=पदद् ॥

शकादीनां द्वित्वम् ॥५२॥ The final letter of the roots *śak*, to be able, etc., is doubled. शक्नोति=सकद् ; क्षयति=क्षयद् ॥ Cf S. 70 ॥ This Sūtra is not noticed by K.

स्फुटि-चल्योर्वी ॥५३॥ The final letter of the roots *sphuṭ*, to blossom, and *chal*, to tremble, is doubled optionally. स्फुटति=फुटद्, फुलद् (*supra* II, 20) । चलति=चलद्, चलद् ॥ This Sūtra is ignored by K.

प्रादेर्मौलः ॥५४॥ When preceded by the prepositions, *pra*, etc., the final letter of the root *mā*, to wink, is doubled optionally. प्रसीलति=पमिलद्, पमीलद् । संमिलद् ॥ उन्मिलद् ॥

भुजादीनां क्त्वा-भुमुन्-तज्येषु लोपः ॥५५॥ Var. lect. परतो लोपः (K.) ॥ The final letter of the roots, *bhu*, etc. is elided before the affixes *ktvā* (affix of the absolutive) *tumun* (affix of the infinitive) and *tavya* (affix of the future participle) भुक्त्वा=भोक्तृण् ; भोक्तुम्=भोक्तुं ; भोक्तव्य=भोक्तव्यं । विद्—वेत्तृण् वेत्तुं वेत्तव्यं । रुद्—रोत्तृण् ; रोत्तुं ; रोत्तव्यं ॥ Cf. *supra* IV 23. The doubling of *t* in the alternative *tāna* is supposed to be explained by III, 58.

भ्र-हु-जि-लू-ध्वानां णोऽन्त्ये ह्रस्वः ॥५६॥ *Na* is to be employed at the end of the roots, *śru*, etc., and the long vowel in *lā* and *dha* is to be shortened. भ्रु—भ्रुणद् ; हु—हुणद् ; जि—जिणद् ; लू—लुणद् ; धू—धुणद् ॥ According to some later authors, the case is optional with the root *ye*, to conquer. जयति=जिणद्, जयद् ॥

भावकर्मणोर्ध्वञ्च ॥५७॥ *Va*, as well as *na*, is to be employed at the end of the roots *fru*, etc. (S. 56) in the *Bhāva** and the *Karma-vācya*, i.e., when the passive voice is signified. भूयते=भुव्वद्, भुयिज्जद् । हुव्वद्, हुयिज्जद् । जिव्वद् ; जियिज्जद् । लुव्वद्, लुयिज्जद् । ध्रुव्वद्, ध्रुयिज्जद् ॥

गमादीनां द्वित्वं वा ॥५८॥ When the passive voice is signified, the final letter of the roots, *gam*, etc., is doubled optionally. Cf. *supra*, VII, 9 गम्यते=गम्मद् ; also गमिज्जद्, गमीज्जद् ॥ रम्मद् ; रमिज्जद्, रमीज्जद् ॥ इत्सद्, हसिज्जद्, हसीज्जद् ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Hem. गम्—गम्मद्, हम्मद्, अईद्, अइच्छद्, अशुव्वज्जद्, अवज्जसद्, उक्कुसद्, अक्कुसद्, पव्वद्, पच्छन्दद्, शिम्मद्, शोद्, शीणद्, शीलुक्कद्, पदज्जद्, रम्मद्, परिअज्जद्, वोलद्, परिअलद्, शिरिणासद्, शिवहद्, अवसेहद्, अवहरद् ॥

लिहैर्लिङ्गः ॥५९॥ When the passive voice is signified, *lyjha* is substituted for the root *lih*, to lick लिज्जद् ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K. Some later authors suggest *dubbha*, *hbbha* and *vabbha* for the roots *duh*, *lih* and *vah* respectively.

ह-क्रोहोर-कीरौ ॥६०॥ When the passive voice is signified, *hira* and *kira* are severally substituted for the roots *hri* and *kri*. हियते=हीरद् । क्रियते=कीरद् ॥

ग्रहेर्दीर्घो वा ॥६१॥ When the passive voice is signified, *a* is optionally substituted for the *i* in the root *grah*, to seize. ग्रह्यते=गाहिज्जद्, गहिज्जद् ॥ K. ignores this *Sūtra*.

केन दिव्जाव्यः ॥६२॥ *Divna*, etc., are used for some roots followed by *kta* (affix of the past participle). Cf. VII, 28, 32. दत्त=दियणं ; रुदित=रुयणं ; तस्त=हित्यं ; दग्ध=दद्वडं ; रक्क, रञ्जित=रत्तं ॥ आकृतिगण ॥ Hem आकान्त=अप्पुण्णो ; उक्कुच्छ=उक्कोसं ; स्पष्ट=फुडं (cf. स्फुट) ; अतिकान्त=वोसियो ; विकसित=वोसद्यो ; निपासित=निमुद्यो ; वम=लुगयो ; निनीन, नष्ट=त्तिहको ; प्रमुषित, प्रमुष्ट=पम्हडो ; अञ्जित=विडत्तं ; स्पष्ट=क्षित्तं ; स्थापित=निमिअं ; आस्वादित=चक्खिअं ; लल=लुअं ; लक्क=जडं ; क्कित्त=मोखिअं ; उद्धत्त or उद्धत्त=निच्छुडं ; पर्यस्त=परहत्तं, पलोडं ; ई पित्त=हीसमणं ॥

खिदेर्विसूरः ॥६३॥ *Visūra* is substituted for the root *khud*, to be distressed. खिद्यते=विसूरइ ॥ Some later authors prefer *jūra* and *visūra* for the root *khud*. जूरइ, विसूरइ ॥ Cf. S. 64. Hem. also has खिजइ ॥

क्रुधेजूरः ॥६४॥ *Jūra* is substituted for the root *krudh*, to be angry. क्रुध्यति=जूरइ ॥ Hem. also क्रुजइ ॥

चर्मश्चम्पः ॥६५॥ *Champa* is substituted for the root *charch*, to study. चर्चति=चम्पइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K.

व्रसेर्वजः ॥६६॥ Var. lect. वृजः (K.) ॥ *Vajja* is substituted for the root *tras*, to fear. तसति=वज्जइ (Bh.); वृज्जइ (K) ॥ Hem. डरइ, वज्जइ, वोज्जइ, तसइ ॥

सुजेर्लुभ-सुपौ ॥६७॥ Var. lect. लुह-पुषौ (K.) ॥ *Lubha* and *supa* according to Bh, but *luha* and *pusa* according to K., are substituted for the root *mṛj*, to cleanse माष्टि=लुभइ, सुपइ, (Bh.); लुहइ, पुषइ (K.) ॥ For the forms *supa* and *pusa*, cf. *supra*, IV, 29. Hem. मज्जइ, उपसुसइ, लब्धइ, पुब्धइ, पुंसइ, फुसइ, लुहइ, हुलइ, रोसाणइ ॥

वुट्ठ-खुप्पौ मसजेः ॥६८॥ Var. lect. वुट्ठ (K.) ॥ *Vutta* (or *vudḍa*) and *khuppa* are substituted for the root *masj*, to be immersed. मज्जति=वुट्ठ or वुड्ठइ; खुप्पइ ॥ Cf. Pālī मज्जति=हुब्बइ ॥ For वुट्ठ and हुब्ब, cf. *supra*, II, 2; IV, 29. Hem. मज्जइ, आवड्ठइ, शिण्डइ, वुड्ठइ, खुप्पइ ॥

दृढोः पुलभ-णिअक-अवक्खाः ॥६९॥ *Pulaa*, *ṇakha* and *avakha* are substituted for the root *drś*, to see. पश्यति=पुलभइ, णिअकइ, अवक्खइ ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K Hem. निअच्छइ, ऐच्छइ, अवयच्छइ, अवयज्जइ, वज्जइ, सव्ववइ, देक्खइ, ओअक्खइ, अवक्खइ, अवअक्खइ पुलोएइ, पुलएइ, निअइ, अवआसइ, पासइ ॥

शक्सेतर-वअ-तीराः ॥७०॥ *Tora*, *vaa* and *tira* are substituted for the root *tak*, to be able. Cf. S. 52. शक्नोति=तरइ, वअइ, तीरइ ॥ Hem. सकइ, चयइ, तरइ, तीरइ, पारइ ॥

क्षेपाण्यदन्तता ॥७१॥ The *anubandha* or final part of the remaining roots are elided and the roots are considered as ending in *a*.

अम्—अमइ ; जुव्—जुम्बइ ॥ Hem अम्—टिरिटिळइ, दुण्डुळइ, डण्डळइ, चकम्मइ, मम्मइ, ममडइ, ममाडइ, तलअण्ड, अण्ड, कम्मइ, मुमइ, गुमइ, फुमइ, फुसइ, डुमइ, डुसइ. परीइ, परइ, ममइ ॥

NOTES

Summary भू=हु, हुव, प्रभू=भम त्वर=तुवर बुण्=घोल ; नुद्=णोल ; व्=हम, पट्=फल, पद्=पाल, वृप्=वरिस, cf कृप्, सुपु, इप् ; सु=भर, cf स, etc., कृ=कर, कृण ; जम्=जम्माअ, प्रद्=वेणइ, स्यु=भर, सुभर ; मी=मा, बीह, प्रा=पा, पाअ ; म्लै=म, वाअ ; वृप्=विम्भ, प्रा=जाण, गुण, जल्प=जम्भ, स्वा=ठाअ, cf ज्यै, गै ; खाव्=खा, cf धाव्, प्रसू=विस, चि=चिण ; कौ=कृण, विक्री=विके, विक्रिण ; उद्घ्मा=उठुमा, अद्धा=सद्इ ; अवगाह्=ओवाह ; अवकास्=ओवास ; मिर्मा=णिम्माण ; चि=मिज्ज, मिद्=मिन्द, cf छिद् ; कृप्=कड ; वेष्ट्=वेड ; उद्देष्ट्=उद्देक्क, cf मवेष्ट् ; रुद्=रुव ; उद्विज्=उव्विव, वृप्=वड्ड ; हन्=हम्म ; रुप्=रुस, cf तुपु, etc. ; प्रज्=वज, cf नृत्, युव्=युज्ज, cf वृप् ; रुप्=रुन्व, रुम्भ, रुद्=मल, शद्=सड, cf पत्, शक्=सक, तर, वज, तीर, cf लग्, etc., स्फुट्=फुड, फुड ; cf यल् ; प्रमील्=पमिळ, भु=भुण ; cf हु, etc, गम्+यक्=गम्म, गम, लिह्+यक्=लिज्ज ; ह्+यक्=होर, cf कृ ; प्रह्+यक्=गह, गाह ; सिद्=विसर ; कृध्=जूर ; वर्थ्=वम्भ, लसू=लुज्ज ; मृज्=मुम, सुप, मज्ज=मुड, खुप्, ह्य=पुलअ, पिअक, अववळ ॥ Grierson (*MASB*, VIII, 2) divides Prakrit roots into four classes: (1) those which are identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots in meaning and form; (2) those which are regularly derived from corresponding Sanskrit forms according to ordinary phonetic rules; (3) those which cannot be connected with Sanskrit roots by the accepted rules of phonetics, and (4) those which are derived from Sanskrit but have changed their meanings and are therefore equated with some other Sanskrit roots with similar meaning by orthodox grammarians. The Prakrit roots are broadly classified by orthodox Indian authorities into (1) *tadbhava*, (2) *tatsuma*, and (3) *desi* or *desaja*. For these terms, see *Introductory Note*. The influence of provincial dialects

were gradually increasing. Later authors usually suggest a large number of Prakrit substitutes for a single Sanskrit root.

Prakrit Roots from Hemachandra. Some of the substitutes suggested by Hem have already been noticed above. Some others are quoted below. कथ्=कह, वज्जर, पज्जर, उप्पाल, पिप्पुण, संघ, वोह, चव, जम्, सीस, साह, बुक ॥ जुगुप्स्=कुण, दुगुच्छ, दुगुच्छ, जुगुच्छ, etc ॥ सुमुत्=गीरव, सुमुक्ख ॥ बीज्=बीज, बीज ॥ पिब्=पिब्ब, डह, पट्ट, चोट, पिम् ॥ उद्वा=ओह्मा, वसुआ, उव्वा ॥ निद्वा=ओहीर, उव्, निद्वा ॥ ला=अवमुत्, एहा ॥ संस्त्यायति=संखाइ ॥ स्या=ठा, थक, चिद्, शिरप्प ॥ उत्था=उड्ड, उकुडूर ॥ छद्+णिच्=शुम्, नूम, शुम्, सन्शुम्, डक, ओम्वाल, पम्वाल, छाव ॥ निवारि=णिहोड, शिमार ॥ पाति=पाड, शिहोड ॥ तुल=तुल, ओहाम ॥ विरेवि=ओलुएव, उल्लुएव, पल्लुएव, विरेअ ॥ ताडि=ताड, आहोड, विहोड ॥ मिथि=मीसाल, मेलाव, मिस्स ॥ उद्धलि=शुयठ, उद्धल ॥ आमि=तालिअएठ, समाड, भाम, भमाड, भमाव ॥ नाशि=विडड, नासव, हारव, विप्पगाल, पलाव, नास ॥ दर्शि=दाव, दंस, दक्खव, दरिस ॥ उद्धाटि=उग्ग, उग्गवाड ॥ स्पृहि=सिह ॥ संभावि=आसह, संभाव ॥ उष्मामि=उत्थह, उल्लाल, गुल्लुगुच्छ, उप्पेल, उष्माम ॥ प्रस्थापि=पट्टव, पेयडव, पट्टाव ॥ विज्ञापि=वोक, अत्रुक, विरएव ॥ आप=अलिअव, चप्प, पयाम, अप्प ॥ यापि=जव, जाव ॥ अत्रावि=ओम्वाल, पम्वाल, पाव ॥ विकोशि=पक्खोड, विकोस ॥ रोमन्धि=ओग्गाल, वग्गोल, रोमन्ध ॥ कामि=णिहुव, काम ॥ प्रकाशि=शुव्व, पयास ॥ कम्पि=विच्छोल, कम्प ॥ आरोहि=वल, आरोव ॥ दुशि=रद्धोल, दोल ॥ रज्जि=राव, रज्ज ॥ घटि=परिवाड, वड ॥ वेष्टि=परिआल, वेठ ॥ राज्ज=अग्गव, छज्ज, सह, रीर, रैह, राय ॥ आली=अल्ली ॥ निली=णिलीअ, णिल्लुक, णिरिअ, लुक, लिअ, विहक, निलिअ ॥ विली=विरा, विलिअ ॥ रु=रुअ, रुएठ, रुव ॥ भु=हण, शुण ॥ धू=धुण, धुव ॥ भू=हो, हुव, हव, भव ॥ निलि=गीहर, नील, घाड, वरहाड, नीसर ॥ जागृ=जग्ग, जागर ॥ व्यापृ=आअड्ड, वावर ॥ संड=साहर, साहड्ड, संवर ॥ आह=अशाम, आदर ॥ प्रह=सार, पहर ॥ अवतु=ओह, ओरस, ओअर ॥ पच्=सोह, पडल, पव ॥ मुच्=उड्ड अवहेड, मेह, उत्सिक, रेअव, णिल्लुअ, धंसड, मुअ ॥ वध्=वेहव, वेलाव, जूरव, उमच्छ, वध ॥ सिच्=सिअ, सिम्प, सेअ ॥ गर्ज्=वुक, गज्ज ॥ जुज्=जुअ, जुज्ज, जुम्प ॥ मुज्=मुअ, निअ, जेम, कम्म, अएह, समाण, चमड, चड्ड ॥ जन्=

जाअ, जम्म ॥ आरम्भ=आरम्भ, आरव, आरभ ॥ आरम्भते=आरम्भते, आरवतीअइ ॥
 अंश=फिड, फिड, फुड, फुड, चुड, मुड, अंस ॥ नश=शिरणास, निवह, अवसेह,
 पडिसा, सेह, अवहर, नस ॥ निषेष्=हक, निसेह ॥ खप्=क्रमवस, लिस, लोह, सुअ ॥
 गुप्=विर, राड, गुप् ॥ मएड=विष, विषअ, विषिह, रीड, ठिविडिह, मएड ॥ प्रदीप्=
 तेअव, सन्दुम, सन्दुक, अच्युत, पलीव ॥ चर्=चिर, कर, पञ्कर, पचम, शिचल,
 शिह ॥ सृश=फास, फंस, फरिस, छिव, छिह, फालुड्ख, आलिह ॥ प्रविश=रिअ,
 पविस ॥ पिष्=निवह, शिरिणस, शिरिणज्ज, रोष, चड, पीस ॥ गवेष्=गुण्डुल,
 डरडोल, गमेस, वत्त, गवेस ॥ काड्=आइ, अहिलह, अहिलड्ख, वच, बम्क, मह,
 सिह, विलुप्. कड् ॥ प्रतीच्=सामय, विहीर, विरमाल, पडिक्ख ॥ तच्=तण्ड,
 चण्ड, रम्प, रम्क, तक्ख ॥ हस्=हस, शुअ ॥ खस्=खर, खोज्ज, वज्ज, सस ॥
 वल्लस्=जसल, जसुम्म, शिल्लस, पुलआअ, पुजोल, शुअ, आरोअ, उल्लस ॥ आरह=
 चड, वल्लग, आरह ॥ etc., etc.

नवमः परिच्छेदः—निपाताः ॥

Chapter IX.—Indeclinable Particles.

This Chapter deals with interjections and other indeclinables. Note that some of the words can be derived from Sanskrit sources by applying phonetic rules

निपाताः ॥१॥ This is an *adhiśhāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) and the word *nipāta* (i.e. an indeclinable particle) is to be read in all the *Sūtras* of the section

हुं दान-पृच्छा-निर्द्धारणेयु ॥२॥ Hem. prefers निवारणे for निर्द्धारणे ॥ The particle *hum* is used in the sense of giving, asking or speaking emphatically. दान—पृहाण आत्मनः जीवम्=हुं वेएह अप्पणो जीअ ॥ पृच्छा—कथय साहुसु सज्जावम्=हुं क्केहि साहुसु सज्जाव ॥ निर्द्धारण—अव-सुप्पणीकः=हुं हुवसु सुविहसे ॥

विअ वेअ अवधारणे ॥३॥ *Via* and *vea* are used in the sense of asseveration. एवम् एव=एवं विअ, एवं वेअ ॥ For एव=वेअ, cf. IV 29.

ओ सूचना-पञ्चाशप-विकल्पेषु ॥४॥ *O* is used in the sense of indica-

tion, remorse and indecision. ओ आओओ । ओ गिहओ राओ । ओ पुरिसो इमे ॥ Hem. omits पञ्चासाय ॥

इर किर किल अनिश्चिताख्याने ॥५॥ *Ira, kīra and kila* are used in doubtful assertion प्रेक्ष किल तेन हतः=पेक्ष इर तेष हतो । अय किल तेन व्यवसितः=अय किर तेष ववसितो ॥ अयं किल स्वप्नः=अयं किल सिविण्यो ॥ For किल=किर and किल=इर, see *supra*, II, 30, note, for the latter, cf also the rule regarding the elision of *l*, *supra*, II, 2 note Ins. किंचित्=किंवि, इंवि (O. Asia), etc.

हुं कहु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावनेषु ॥६॥ *K*. has हु instead of वहु. *Hum* and *lhu* are used in the sense of resolution, doubt or reflection एसा हुं रमणी । सा कहु कामिणी । सा कहु पीढए ॥ Hem. हु हु निश्चय-वितर्क-सम्भावन-वित्तये ॥

णवरः केवले ॥७॥ *Navara* is used in the sense of "only" केवलम् अयम्=णवर अयम् ॥ एसो णवर कन्दपो, एसा णवर सा रई ॥

आनन्तर्ये णवरि ॥८॥ *Var* lect अणवविअ (*K*) ॥ *Navari* (*K navaria*) is used in the sense of immediate sequence. *K*—हन्वा राषणं रामः गतः अनन्तरं प्रथाम्=हत्तूण राषणं रामो गओ णवरिअ (or, णवरि) पई ॥

किणो प्रश्ने ॥९॥ *Kṛṇo* is used in the sense of question किन्तु हसति =किणो हसति (Why are you laughing ?) ॥ Cf. Beng *kəna*, pronounced *kəno*

अव्वो दुःख-सूचना-सम्भावनेषु ॥१०॥ *Var* lect अव्वो अम्मो दुःख-सूचनासम्भाषणेषु (*K*) ॥ *Avvo*, according to Bh., is used in the sense of distress, indication or reflection, but according to *K*, *avvo* and *ammo* are used in the sense of distress, indication and address अहो कञ्जलसरजिताभ्याम् अक्षिभ्याम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) कञ्जलसरजिएहिं अच्छीहिं । अहो अपरमिव=अव्वो (or अम्मो) अव्वरं विअ । अहो एनम् इव अत्तुम्=अव्वो (or अम्मो) एणं मिव अत्तुं ॥ Hem अव्वो सूचनादुःखसंभाषणापगाधवित्स्वयानन्दादरमयलेदविपाद-पञ्चात्तापे ॥ अम्मो आक्षये ॥

अलाहि निवारणे ॥११॥ *Alāhi* is used in the sense of opposition अलं कलहवन्धेन=अलाहि कलहवन्धेण ॥

अइ वले सम्भाषणे ॥१२॥ *At* and *vale* are used in the sense of addressing a person अपि मूलम् प्रशुष्यति=अइ मूलं पस्सइ (Is the root drying up?) ॥ किम् कलयसि अवले=वले किं कलयसि अवले ॥ Hem. वले निर्धारण-निश्चययोः ॥ Cf. हले (Hem. II. 195) with वले ॥ Hem has अइ सम्भाषणे for •सम्भाषणे ॥

णवि वैपरीत्ये ॥१३॥ *Ṇavi* is used in the sense of contrariety. विपरीत तथा प्रहसति बाला=णवि तह पसइ बाला ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K सू कुत्वायाम् ॥१४॥ *Ṇa* is used in the sense of censure. विक् खमः=सू सिविणे ॥ This *Sūtra* is ignored by K Hem has *tha* for *sū*

रे अरे हिरे सम्भाषणरतिकलहाक्षेपेषु ॥१५॥ *Re*, *are* and *hire* are used in the sense of addressing a person, enjoyment, quarrelling and reproach Bh रे ना कुल्लव=रे ना करेहि । नागः असि अरे=णाओ सि अरे । एहः असि हिरे=विशे सि हिरे ॥ Bh. possibly takes *raṭi-kalaha* (cf. Hem.) as one word in composition. K. रे गच्छसु । अरे को सि । सुखसु सं हिरे ॥ Hem. prefers *re* for *sambhāṣaṇa* and *are* for *raṭi-kalaha*.

मिब-मिब-विभा इवार्थे ॥१६॥ *Miva*, *miva* and *via* are used in the sense of *iva*, i.e., like गगनम् इव कृष्णम्=गच्छणं मिब (or मिब, or विब) कस्यणं ॥ Hem. मिब पिब पिब च व विब इवार्थे वा ॥

अज्ज आमन्त्रणे ॥१७॥ *Ajja* is used in the sense of courteous address अहो महागुणाव किं करोपि=अज्ज महागुणाव किं करोसि ॥ *Ajja* is no doubt the same as Sanskrit *ārya*. This *Sūtra* is ignored by K

शेषः संस्कृतात् ॥१८॥ The rest (i.e. all that has not been dealt with above), whether rules for letters, genders, derivatives, composition or affixes, etc., are to be learned from Sanskrit grammar But they are to be modified according to the rules given above in the work Note that Sanskrit was considered by orthodox grammarians to be the base of the Prakrit language. Hem. also gives a similar *Sūtra* at the end of his grammar; but he adds another important rule अल्लयथ ॥ विवरो ॥ which allows that all rules about the Prakrit dialects may have exceptions. His rule बहुलम् ॥१९॥ also applies to all the *Sūtras* of

his grammar and is explained as कविद् प्रवृत्तिः कविद् अप्रवृत्तिः कविद् त्रभाषा कविद् अन्यदेव भवति ॥

NOTES

Nipātas from Hemachandra. Cf. Hem, II, 175-218 Some of the rules have already been noticed above. सं वाक्योपन्यासे ॥ आस अभ्युपगमे ॥ पुण्यरुत् कृतकरणे ॥ हन्दि विषाद-विकल्प-पश्चात्ताप-निश्चय-सत्ये ॥ हन्द् न एहाणार्ये ॥ जेष तेष् सत्त्वये ॥ एह् नेष् विश्व न अप्रधारणे ॥ किरेर हिर किलार्ये वा ॥ अण् एह् नभर्ये ॥ माह् मार्ये ॥ हद्दी निर्वदे ॥ वेव्हे भय-भारवा-विषादे ॥ वेव् न आसन्त्वये ॥ मामि हला हले सख्या वा ॥ दे संमुखीकरणे न ॥ ऊ गह्राक्षेप-विस्मयसूचने ॥ हरे क्षेपे न ॥ वणे निश्चयविकल्पानु-कल्पे न ॥ मणे विनरो ॥ स्वयमोर्ध्वे अप्ययो न वा ॥ प्रत्येकमः पाठिकं पाठिएकं ॥ उष् पश्य ॥ इहरा इतस्था ॥ एकसरिश्च कगिति संप्रति ॥ मोरउक्ता मुधा ॥ वरार्वात्पे ॥ इ-जे-राः पादपूरणे ॥ प्वादयः ॥

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।—पैशाची ॥

Chapter X—Paisāchi

Paisāchi is said to be the language of the *Pisāchas* or goblins. It is believed to have referred to the corrupt Aryan speech adopted by or prevalent among the neighbours of the Indo-Aryans who were usually imbued with Aryan culture and sometimes also with Aryan blood. In some cases, *Paisāchi* characteristics are noticed in the inscriptions of Northwest and South India. They may be due to Iranian and Dravidian influence on Indo-Aryan speech. The non-aspiration often noticed in the records of those regions is apparently due to the foreign influence. The name *Paisāchi* is sometimes applied to *Pāli*. According to Grierson, the *Paisāchi* dialects are probably local varieties of *Pāli* which was much mixed with the different forms of Indo-Aryan speech and in certain respects had drawn upon *Paisāchi*. This feature has been explained by pointing to the fact that Taxila, the great Buddhist university of the early period, was situated in the

country which was the home of the standard Kaikeyī Paisācī. The above fact however only shows the cosmopolitan character of Pāli which drew upon many dialects including those of Northwest and South India. For the spurious nature of chapters X-XII and for some observations on Paisācī Prakrit, see *Introduction* above. There is no commentary of K on these chapters.

The source of Paisācī is said to be Sauraseni (*infra*, XII). Orthodox grammarians therefore refer only to those points on which the former differs from the latter.

पैशाची ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 2, note) indicating that the following rules of the chapter describe the characteristics of the Paisācī variety of Prakrit speech.

प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी ॥२॥ Paisācī has the characteristics of Sauraseni and the following rules refer only to additional peculiarities of the dialect.

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोस्त्यजोरनाद्योराद्यौ ॥३॥ When non-initial and single, the third and fourth letters of a *varga* are substituted by the first and second letters respectively. गगन=गगनं (S. 5), मेघ=मेखो; राजा=राजा, बहिरा=बहिरं, दशवदन=दसवदनी; माघव=माघयो; गोविन्द=गोविन्तो; केराव=केसयो; सरस=सरसं; नरम=नरमो ॥ Why "single"? नंगामो, वगो ॥ Why "non-initial"? गमन=गमन ॥ Cf Hem., *infra* notes.

इवस्य पिव ॥४॥ The particle *eva* is substituted by *piva*. कमलं पिव सुखं ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16; *infra*, XII, 24.

णो नः ॥५॥ *N* is substituted by *n* (cf. *supra*, II, 42). वरुणी=वरुनी ॥

उस्य सटः ॥६॥ The conjunct *shṭ* is substituted by *sata* (cf. *supra*, III, 10, also vowel-augmentation, *supra*, III, 59ff.) कष्ट=कसटं ॥

लस्य सनः ॥७॥ The conjunct *sn* is substituted by *sana* (cf. III, 33; 62). कान=सनानं; लंह=सनेहो ॥

र्यस्य रिः ॥८॥ The conjunct *ry* is substituted by *ria* (cf. *supra*, III, 17-21; *infra*, X, 11; XI.7). भार्य=भारिआ ॥

र्यस्य रः ॥९॥ The conjunct *ri* is substituted for *ri* (cf. III, 5 and 44, XII, 0-7, also Hem., *infra*, XI, Notes). विज्ञात=विज्ञातो ; सर्वज्ञ=सर्वज्ञो ॥

कन्यायां न्यस्य ॥१०॥ The conjunct *ny* in the word *kanyā* is substituted by *ri* कन्या=कन्या ॥ Cf. Hem. न्यस्योऽर्थः, *infra*, Notes

उज्ज ॥११॥ The conjunct *jj* (which is the Mahārāṣṭrī-Sauraseni modification of Sanskrit *ry*, cf. *supra*, III, 17, X, 8) is substituted by *ahā*. कार्य=कर्म=कर्म ॥

राक्षो रावि टा-उलि-उस्-किञ्चु वा ॥१२॥ When followed by *tā* (1st sing.), *nas* (abl. sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.), the word *rājan* is substituted by *rākh* optionally. राक्षा=राविना, रक्ष्मा ; राक्षि=राविनि, रक्षि ॥ But in the other case-affixes : राषा ; राषाव ; रक्षो ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

कुत्सन् ॥१३॥ Var. loc. कुत्सन् ॥ The absolutive verbal affix *ktvā* is substituted by *tāna* (or *tānam*) कृत्वा=कान् (or कान्) ॥ Cf. Hem. *infra*, Notes.

हृदयस्य ह्रियमकं ॥१४॥ The word *hrdaya* is substituted by *hriyam*. Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

NOTES

Paiśācī as known to Hemachandra In Hem grammar (VIII, IV, 303-24) we have the following account of Paiśācī Consonants as a rule are not elided श्र=ञ्च ॥ पञ्च ॥ इ in the declensional forms of the word राजन् is optionally substituted by विञ् ॥ राक्षा=राविना ; राक्ष=राविनि ॥ न्य, र्व =ञ्च ॥ कञ्चका ; पुञ्चकम्बो ॥ य is substituted by न ॥ ष is not dropped as in Mahārāṣṭrī and not changed to द as in Sauraseni. But द is changed to ष ॥ मदन=मतनो ; वदनकं ; रामो-

तरो ॥ त is changed to ढ ॥ कुढं ; जढं ॥ Cf. *supra*, II, 23, note.
 हृदय=हितपकं ॥ This may be due to mislection of हितपक in the source
 of Hem. But the form हितपक can be supported if we follow the
 process : हृदयक=हिदवक=हितपक ॥ कूटम्ब=कुतुम्बकं ॥ क्ता=तून ॥ गन्तून ; पठि-
 तून ; करितून ॥ But ष्टा=इतून, तून ॥ नष्टा=नदून, नतून । हृष्टा=तदून,
 ततून ॥ Occasionally वै=रिय ॥ मारिया ॥ Similalry सिनार', कसर' ;
 but सुब्बो, सुबुसा, तिब्बो ॥ These are really examples of vowel-augmen-
 tation. बादश=बाविसो ; also तातिसो, etc. Passive voice is indicated by
 ह्य ॥ गीयते=गिष्यते ॥ दिष्यते, पठिष्यते ॥ But क्रियते=कीरते ॥ The future
 termination is एष्व instead of स्ति of Sauraseni. एष्व is however the
 optative form used for the future which is lost. Thus हुवेष्व (=भवेत्)
 is used for मविष्यति ॥ Abl. sing. term of words ending in a, is āto
 and ātu. (ot ā of Sauraseni changed to t). दराव=दरातो, दरातु ॥ तेव,
 भवेन=नैन ॥ अनया=नाए ॥

Chūlikā Paisāchī. Hemachandra also describes a variety of the
 Paisāchī dialect, which is called the Chūlikā Paisāchī. It differs from
 the Paisāchī described by Hem only on the following points:
 (1) The third and fourth letters of a *varga* are respectively sub-
 stituted by its first and second letters. According to some authorities,
 the substitution does not take place when the third or fourth
 letter is at the beginning of a word or is in a word formed of
 the root *yuv*. दासोतर ; मरुवती, but नियोजितं ॥ Cf. *supra*, X, 3.
 (2) The consonant *r* is optionally changed to *l*. गौरी=गोली ॥
 Cf Hem, *infra*, XI, Notes Note that Vararuchi's Paisāchī resem-
 bles Hemachandra's Chūlikā Paisāchī For an elaborate early account
 of the Paisāchī dialects as given by Purushottama, see Appendix.

एकादशः परिच्छेदः ।—मगधी ॥

Chapter XI.—Māgadhi.

Māgadhi literally indicates the language of Magadha (South
 Bihār). It is supposed to have been the Prakrit speech prevalent in

Eastern India. According to the Indian dramatic convention, Māgadhi is to be spoken by persons working in the king's harem (*rdyāntah-purachārīn*), while the dialect known as Ardha-Māgadhi is to be used by the servants, princes and *freshkins*. The basis of Māgadhi is said to be Sauraseni and orthodox grammarians only deal with the points whereon the former differs from the latter.

मगधी ॥१॥ This is an *adhilāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the characteristics of the Māgadhi variety of Prakrit speech

प्रकृतिः क्षौरसेनी ॥२॥ The basis of Magadhi is Sauraseni. Cf. X, 2; *infra*, XII.

पल्लोः शः ॥३॥ *S* is substituted for both *sh* and *s*; cf. *supra*, II, 43. माष=माशे; विलास=विलाशे (cf. *infra*, § 10). ॥ Note that the Kāyasthī script prevalent in South Bihār has only the palatal sibilant and that in Bengali all the three sibilants are pronounced like the palatal. This peculiarity is indicated in some early inscriptions, e.g. in the Jogimara Cave Inscription. In the Nagarjuna Cave Inscriptions, *sh* is used for both *s* and *ś*. This fact seems to refer to the peculiarity of pronunciation recognised in the present Sūtra. For the change of *r* to *l* and of *ry*, *ny*, *ṣṇ* and *ṣṇ* to *ṣṇ*, see Hem., *infra*, Notes.

जोः यः ॥४॥ The consonant *j* is substituted by *y*. जायते=यायदे ॥ Note that Aśoka's Kharoshthī records have कंबोज, सयाय, राया, but also मज्जर ॥ Cf. *supra*, II, 31.

चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तथोच्चारणः ॥५॥ Lassen suggests the emendation चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता and Cowell, चवर्गस्यास्पष्टता ॥ This Sūtra seems to point to niceties of pronunciation. It may refer affirmatively or negatively to the pronunciation of *ch*, *ṣ*, etc., as *ts*, *dʒ*, etc., as is now the case in Eastern Bengal. On the strength of the views expressed by Purushottama (see Appendix), Nitti-Dolchi thinks that no emendation of the Sūtra is necessary, she suggests that letters of the *cha-*

varga were pronounced possibly as dento-palatals in both Mahā-rāshṭri and Sauraseni

हृदयस्य हृदयकः ॥६॥ *Hadakka* is substituted for the word *hridaya*.

य-ञ-योप्यः ॥७॥ The conjuncts *ry* and *rj* are substituted by *yy*.
कार्ग=कये; वुर्जन=वुप्यरो (cf. S. 10) ॥

क्षस्य स्कः ॥८॥ *Ksh* is substituted by *sk* (cf. *supra*, III, 29-30).
दक्ष=दस्के; राक्षस=सत्करो ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes Ins. हुविक्क,
हुविक्क; but पुष्कर=पोक्कराणि ॥

अस्मदः सौ हके हगे अहके ॥९॥ When followed by *su* (nom. sing.),
the pronoun *asmad* is substituted by *hako*, *hage* and *ahake*.
अहम्=हके; हगे; अहके ॥ Cf. Asokan Ins हक् ॥

अत इदेतौ लुक् च ॥१०॥ When the case-affix *su* (nom. sing.) follows
a word ending in *a*, *su* is either elided or is substituted by *i* or *e*.
एवः राजा=एशि लाया । एवः पुरुषः=एयो पुलियो, एरा पुलिरा ॥

कान्वावुश्च ॥११॥ In words formed by *lta*, the verbal affix of the
past participle, *su* (nom. sing.) is either elided or is substituted by *u*,
i, or *e*. इषित=इशिदु, also इशिदि, इशिदे, इसिद ॥ Cf. VII, 28 and 32,
VIII, 2, 5, 62; and *infra*, S. 15.

उसो हो वा दीर्घश्च ॥१२॥ The case-affix *nas* (gen. sing.) is option-
ally substituted by *ha* and the preceding vowel is lengthened.
पुरुषस्य=पुलिराह, also पुलिरारह ॥ Cf. *supra*, V, 8; also Hem., *infra*,
Notes,

अदीर्घः सम्बुद्धौ ॥१३॥ In the vocative, the final vowel of the words
ending in *a* is lengthened. हे पुरुष=पुलिरा ॥

चिट्ठस्य चिट्ठः ॥१४॥ *Chittha*, the Sauraseni form (XII, 16) of the
Sanskrit root *tishtha* (i.e., *sthā*), is substituted by *chishtha*. पुष्प-
तिष्ठति=पुलियो चिट्ठदि ॥

छब्भुङ्गामां कस्य छः ॥१५॥ The present participial affix *lta* after

the roots *kṛ*, *mṛ* and *gam* is substituted by *d*. कृत=कटे; मृत=मटे; गत=गटे ॥ Cf. Aśoka कटे, मुटे, etc

द्धो दाणिः ॥१६॥ The absolutive affix *ktvā* is substituted by *dāni*. कृत्वा आगतः=करिदाणि आकटे ॥

भ्रगालस्य शिवाला-शिवाले-शिवालकाः ॥१७॥ The word *brgāla* is substituted by *hālā*, *hāle* and *hālaka*.

NOTES

Māgadhi as described by Hemachandra. Hema., IV, 287-302. Nom. sing. forms of masc. words ending in *a* is obtained by substituting *ṣ* for *a*. एषः=एरी; मेघः=मेरी ॥ *R* and *s* (also *śh*) are respectively substituted by *l* and *ṣ*. सारसः=सालरी; पुरुषः=पुलरी ॥ [Cf रघोर्लरी ॥४१२=८॥] Note that the important feature *r* changed to *l* is ignored by Vararuchi]. In conjuncts, however, *s* is not changed, while *śh* is changed to *ṣ*. भीमसेनस्स । ध्रुवस्, कर्णस् ॥ The operation of the rules of assimilation is partially suspended and conjuncts like स्स, स्स्, क्स्, स्तस्, व्स्, द्स् and द्धस्, not used in the other forms of Prakrit speech, are used in Māgadhi. But Māgadhi passages in dramas do not always conform to this rule ज, ज=य ॥ य=य ॥ अज्जुन=अज्जुनो । मस=मस । यदि=यदि and not जदि (cf. *supra* II, 31). बुद्धिजलि=बुद्धिजलि ॥ Initial ज=य । जयपद=ययपदे ॥ त=द as in Sauraseni. Gen. sing. termination of words ending in *a* is आह, and gen. plu. term. is आह् optionally. इन्द्रास्य=एलिआह; शोणितस्य=शोणिआह । सज्जनानाम्=सज्जणह् ॥ The usual forms like भीमसेनस्, नलिन्दार्य are also found अहम्, वयम्=हमे ॥ इ, द्ध=द । मन्त्रिणी=मन्त्रिणी; कोष्ठागार=कोष्ठागारह् ॥ स्स्, र्थ=स्स । उपस्थित=उपस्थिदे, अर्थवती=अर्थवदी ॥ न्व, एय, इ, क्स्=य ॥ अभिसन्धु=अभिगन्धु; पुण्य=पुण्य; जयन्ता=जयन्ता; अजलि=अजली ॥ Non-initial द्ध=स्स । गच्छ=गच्छ; even वत्सल=वत्सल=वत्सले ॥ Non-initial द्ध=स्स; but initial द्ध=स्स । वत्स=वत्स, राक्षस=ल=करी ॥ द्ध=स्स in the roots ब्रह्म and आचक्ष् ॥ येस्सदि; आचक्षदि ॥

For another early treatment of the Māgadhi, see Appendix.

Ardha-Māgadhi. According to Hemachandra, only one of the characteristics of Māgadhi applies to the Arsha or Ardha-Māgadhi variety of Prakrit. The rule is regarding the change of *a* to *e* of masculine words ending in *a* when they are followed by *su* (nom. sing.) No other rule of Māgadhi applies to Ardha-Māgadhi. It is the language of the Jain canonical literature. Hem (I, 3) says that all the rules of the Arsha Prakrit are optional. The name Ardha-Māgadhi or Half-Māgadhi is sought to be explained by suggesting that it was the language of the land between Magadha (South Bihār) and Sūrasena (Mathurā) or that it had the characteristics of both the Māgadhi and Sauraseni Prakrits. According to some scholars, it was the language of Oudh. The A. Mg. however seems to have drawn upon different provincial dialects.

द्वादशः परिच्छेदः ।—शौरसेनी ॥

Chapter XII.—Sauraseni.

Sauraseni means the language of the Sūrasena country (mod. Mathurā region), but it is supposed to have been prevalent in the Madhyadesa, i.e., the valley of the Ganges and the Jumna. The basis of the Sauraseni Prakrit is said to be Mahārāshṭrī (cf. *supra* I-IX). [It has however been recently suggested that Mahārāshṭrī is a later phase of Sauraseni.] Grammarians therefore deal only with those points on which the former differs from the latter. In dramas, this variety of Prakrit is used by respectable ladies in their prose conversations. As Sauraseni is said to be the basis of both Paisāchi and Māgadhi, Ch. X and Ch. XI should have followed Ch. XII. Note that neither Bh. nor K. has commented on this chapter.

शौरसेनी ॥१॥ This is an *adhikāra-sūtra* (*supra*, I, 1, note) indicating that the following rules of the section describe the peculiarities of the Sauraseni variety of Prakrit.

प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् ॥२॥ Sanskrit forms the basis on which the peculiarities of this dialect are engrafted. The author seems to

suggest that Sauraseni is more closely related to Sanskrit than any other of the Prakrit dialects.

अनादावयुजोस्तथयोर्दधौ ॥३॥ When non-initial and single, *t* and *th* are substituted by *ḍ* and *dh* respectively गच्छति=गच्छदि ; कथय=कथेदि ॥

व्यापृते ङः ॥४॥ *T* of the word *vyāprita* is substituted by *ḍ*, वावु-
ङो ॥ Ins. वियापुट, वियापट, वापट ॥

पुत्रेऽपि कचित् ॥५॥ *T* of the word *putra* is also sometimes substituted by *ḍ*, पुङो ; also पुत्तो ॥

इ गृध्र-समेयु ॥६॥ In the words like *griḍhra*, *ṛi* is substituted by *ṛi*, गृध्र=गिध्रो ॥ This rule seems to be a modification of *supra*, I, 27 and 29; cf. also *ibid*, § 28

ब्रह्मण्य-विह-यज्ञ-कन्यकानां ण्यञ्च-न्यानां ञो वा ॥७॥ *Ny*, *ñ* and *nya* in the words *brahmanya*, *viñña* *yañña* and *kanyaḥ* are optionally substituted by *ñ* (cf. *supra*, III, 2 and 44). ब्रह्मण्य=बम्हण्य, also बम्हण्य ; विह=विञो, वियणो ; यज्ञ=जञो, जण्यो , कन्यका=कजका, कण्यका ॥

सर्वज्ञेऽङ्गितयोर्णः ॥८॥ *ñ* of the word *sarvañña* (cf. *supra*, III, 5) and *ng* of the word *angita* (Mahāraṣṭri *angiam*) are substituted by *n*, सज्जण्यो । इयिण्यो ॥

कृ इयः ॥९॥ The absolute affix *ktvā* is substituted by *ia* (cf. *supra*, IV, 23). कृत्वा=करिअ ; गत्वा=गमिअ ; पठित्वा=पठिअ ॥ ¹ Cf. Beng. करिया ॥ etc

कृ-गमोर्दुअः ॥१०॥ When following the roots *kṛi* and *gam*, the affix *ktvā* is substituted also by *dua*. कृत्वा=कदुअ, also करिअ ; गत्वा=गदुअ, also गमिअ ॥ Cf. Hem., *infra*, Notes.

णिज्जंशसोर्वा ङीवे स्वरदीर्घश्च ॥११॥ The case-affixes *jas* (nom. plu.) and *ṣas* (acc. plu.) after neuter words are optionally substituted by *ns* and the preceding vowel is lengthened. जहाणि, also जहाइ, वणाणि, also वणाइ ॥

ओ भुवस्तिङि ॥१२॥ When followed by *ṭn* (i.e., the conjugational

affixes of verbs) the root *bhā* is substituted by *bho*. भवति=भोदि ; भवतु=भोदु ॥

न लृदि ॥१३॥ The substitution of *bhā* by *bho* does not take place when it is followed by the conjugational affix *lrit* indicating future tense. भविष्यति=भविस्सदि, हुविस्सदि ॥

ददातेर्दे दइस्स लृदि ॥१४॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, *dā* is substituted by *dā*. ददाति=देदि ; ददातु=देदु ॥ But when followed by *lrit* (conjugational affix of the future tense), *dā* is substituted by *daṭṭsa*. दास्यामि=दइस्सं ॥

कुरुअः करः ॥१५॥ The root *kṛ*, when followed by conjugational affixes, is substituted by *kara* (VIII, 13) करोति=करोदि, करेदि ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं ॥

स्थश्चिदुः ॥१६॥ When followed by conjugational affixes, the root *sthā* is substituted by *chuttha* तिष्ठति=चिदुदि ; स्थास्यामि=चिद्विस्सं ॥ Cf. XI, 14

स्मरतेः सुमराः ॥१७॥ The root *smṛ* is substituted by *sumara* (of *supra*, VIII, 18) स्मरति=सुमरेदि, स्मृत्वा=सुमरिअ ॥

पेक्षोः पेक्ख ॥१८॥ The root *dr̥* is substituted by *pekḥha* पदयति=पेक्खदि ; दृष्ट्वा=पेक्खिअ ॥ Cf. VIII, 69

अस्तेरच्छः ॥१९॥ The root *as* is substituted by *achchha*. सन्ति=अच्छन्ति ॥ Cf. हक्वति(हक्वति) in Central Asian documents; Beng. सन्ति, अस्ति=आहे ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 6f.

तिपात्थि ॥२०॥ The root *as* when followed by *tip* (3rd pers. sing. pres.) is substituted by *atthi* अस्ति=अत्थि ॥

भविष्यति भिषा स्सं वा स्वरदीर्घश्च ॥२१॥ In the future tense the conjugational affix *mip* (1st pers. sing.) is substituted by *ssam*, and the preceding vowel is lengthened optionally. गमिष्यामि=गमिस्सं, गमीसं ; भविष्यामि=भविस्सं, भवीसं ; करिष्यामि=करिस्सं, करीसं ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 14.

स्त्रियामित्थी ॥२२॥ The word *stri* is substituted by *atthi*, इत्थी ॥ Cf. Aśokan इथीमल्ल ॥

एवस्य ज्जेव्व ॥२३॥ The particle *eva* is substituted by *jjevra* एव=ज्जेव्व ॥ Cf. Mahārāṣṭri एव, एव्व (III, 58 ; IV, 5), विअ, वेअ (IX, 8).

इवस्य विअ ॥२४॥ The particle *iva* is substituted by *iva* इव=विअ ॥ Cf. *supra*, IX, 16

अस्मदो जसा वअ च ॥२५॥ *Vaam* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *asmad* with the case-affix *ja* (nom plu) वयम्=वअ ; also अम्हे (*supra*, VI, 43) ॥

सर्वनाम्रां के स्ति त्वा [Sic. ०हेः स्ति-त्यौ] ॥२६॥ The text of the *Sūtra* is corrupt. *Ssum*, *mmi* and *ttha* as substitutes of *mi* (loc sing) are enjoined for Mahārāṣṭri (*supra*, VI, 2, and 7 for *him*) Lassen therefore suggested that the correct reading of the *Sūtra* would be either हेः स्ति-त्थौ or हेः स्ति-हि-त्थाः ॥ Cowell who thinks that only *mmi* is to be avoided has no doubt that the reading intended is हेः स्ति-त्थौ ॥ Chatterji suggests हेः स्ति वा ॥ Ex. पुब्बस्ति, पुब्बस्सि ॥ The text of Purushottama would suggest the correction सर्वनाम्रां ठावसुविन्वेत् ॥ कि-यत्तद्व्यो हेहिस्तित्याः ॥

धातोर्भाव-कर्तृ-कर्मसु परस्मैपदम् ॥२७॥ Only *parasmaipadi* conjugational affixes are used in Sauraseni क्रियते=करीषदि ; गम्यते=गमीषदि ॥

अनन्त्य एअ ॥२८॥ The *Sūtra* which may be corrupt seems to suggest optional forms like करीषदि, गमीषदि (cf. S 27), करोदि ॥ Cf. *supra*, VII, 34 Purushottama has धातोस्तिवादावेदावौ बहुलम् ॥

मियो लोटि च ॥२९॥ The text may be corrupt Cf. *supra*, VII, 18; XII, 28. The conjugational affix of the 1st pers. sing. of the imperative mood is substituted by *e* optionally. अवेयम्=अवे, । लो होसु ॥

आचार्यस्याच्छरिअ ॥३०॥ The word *ācārya* is substituted by *acchhariaṃ*. आचार्य=अच्छरिअ ॥ Cf. *supra*, III, 18.

प्रकृत्या दोला-दण्ड-दशनेषु ॥३१॥ *D* in the words *dola*, *danda* and *daśana* is not substituted by *ḍ* as in Mahārāṣṭri (*supra*, II, 35).

शेषं महाराष्ट्रीवत् ॥३२॥ Excepting the peculiarities noticed above, the Sauraseni dialect has the same characteristics as the Mahārāshtrī (*supra*, I-IX)

NOTES

Sauraseni as described by Hemachandra Cf. Hem. IV, 260-86. Hem notices the following peculiarities of Sauraseni Non-initial and single *t* is changed to *d* In a few cases, *t* in a conjunct is also changed, सदन्दता ; महन्दो (=महन्तो < महान्), निषिन्दो ; अन्देवर' ॥ Initial *t* is changed optionally in तावत्=ताव, ताव ॥ ई is changed to व्य or ज्ञ, य is changed to व or ह ॥ आदो and आदु are abl. sing terminations for the bases ending in *a*. Words ending in *n*, optionally get *ā* (which is possibly a modification of the *svārthaka* affix *la* added to Sanskrit words) or the *anusvāra*, in voc. sing भो कबुक्किन्=कबुइआ ; भो सुखिन्=सुहिआ ; भो राजन्=रायं ; भो विजयवर्धन्=विजयवर्धम्, but also भो तवस्ति, भो मनस्ति ॥ भवत् and भगवत् are changed to भवं and भगवं (also भगवं) in nom sing and voc sing Conjugational affixes ति and ते are changed to दि and दे ॥ The future termination is स्ति and not हि, स्स or ह् as in Mahārāshtrī. भविस्तिदि ; पठिस्तिदि ॥ Note that भ is not modified in the root भू ॥ क्त्वा is changed to इय or द्य ॥ भूत्वा=भविष्य ; भोद्य ; also भोत्ता । पठित्वा =पठिय, पठिद्य, also पठित्ता ॥ कृत्वा and गत्वा have the additional forms कडुअ and गडुअ respectively. इदानीं=दाणि ॥ तस्मात्=ता ॥ युक्त्वा इदम्=युक्तं गिरं, युक्तमिरं । सदसाम् इदम्=सरिसं गिरं, सरिसमिरं । किम् इदम्=किं योदं, किमेदं । एवम् इदम्=एवं योदं, एवमेदं ॥ एव=येव ॥ हजे used in addressing a *cheta* or maid-servant. हजे चदुरिके ॥ In the sense of surprise and disgust or despair—हीमाणहे ॥ नन्=यं ॥ In the sense of delight—अम्महे ॥ In the sense of a court-jester's delight—हीही ॥ इह=इह, इय, होय । परि-त्रायख=परित्रायय, परित्रायह ॥ पूर्व=पुर्व, पुरवं ॥ For another early and detailed treatment of the Sauraseni Prakrit, see Appendix, pp. 106-09.

APPENDIX

PURUSHOTTAMADEVA'S PRAKRITANUSASANA

Chapters IX—XX

The Ms of Purushottamadeva's *Prākṛitānusāsana* edited by L. Nitti-Dolci (Paris, 1932) is dated in the year 385 of the Nepal era corresponding to 1265 A.D. This Purushottama seems to have been the same as the author of the *Bhāṣāvr̥tti*, *Trilāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Hārūvāl* and *Okhandomakhānta*, the first three of the works being referred to in Vandyaghatiya Sarvānanda's *Tīlāsarvasva* (commentary on the *Amarakośa*) composed in Śaka 1082=A.D. 1159. He probably lived in the 12th century in Bengal and was a contemporary of the Bengali authors Sarvānanda and Jayadeva (author of the *Gītāgovinda*), and also of the Jain polymath Hemachandra (1088-1172 A.D.) of Gujaraṭ. The sections of the *Prākṛitānusāsana* quoted below are very important for the study of the minor Prakṛit dialects. It is the earliest detailed treatment of the subject.

Chapter IX.—Sauraseni Bhāṣā.

अथ शौरसेनी ॥१॥ संस्कृतानुगमाद्बहुलम् ॥२॥ शेषे महाराष्ट्री ॥३॥ क्वादौ(०) ॥४॥
नाङ्गारावाविज्ञासादयः ॥५॥ ईदृशादौ ॥६॥ तथा भावकर्मणोः शृणोत्सादेर्न सुष्वाद्यः ॥७॥
तथा भुजादेस्तुतन्मयोर्न भोट(६)वयः प्रायः ॥८॥ अयुजामनादौ तथपप्(१*) दधवमा
बहुलमपताकाभ्यापृतगवितेभु ॥९॥ अत्य धः ॥१०॥ पत्य दः ॥११॥ फत्य भः ॥१२॥
भरते तो धः ॥१३॥ दधवयाः प्रकृत्या ॥१४॥ दधावर्षष्टमुच्चार्यौ ॥१५॥ अदितौ न
यवत् ॥१६॥ ककारः प्रकृत्यामदनिकादेः ॥१७॥ सयन्नन्याना ङ्यो वा ॥१८॥ इत्य
णश्च ॥१९॥ आर्यादौ न र्यस्य ज्ञः ॥२०॥ ज्ञेवादिषु ह्रस्व ख ॥२१॥ दशचतुर्दशभोः
शस्य ह्यो वा ॥२२॥ न नो(मिन्) हः ॥२३॥ अश्रुणि वाष्पस्य वफ्फवाहौ ॥२४॥
अपूर्वस्यावरुर्न वा ॥२५॥ इदानीं दाणि पदान्ते ॥२६॥ इत्थी क्षियाः ॥२७॥ एवस्य व्येव
॥२८॥ इवस्य विभ्रः ॥२९॥ आख्यस्याच्छरीश्र ॥३०॥ शलुमादिषु सप्तुद(ह्र)दयः ॥३१॥
तावकमामकादेः (१) ॥३२॥ नासि(किं)चिदादयः ॥३३॥ मायधेयं पुंसे(सि) च ॥३४॥ गोणः
ङ्गवे च ॥३५॥ सन्धिः संस्कृतबहुलम् ॥३६॥ पुनरप्यार्षे पुणवि पुणोवि ॥३७॥ काल्य-
पोरिश्च ॥३८॥ कृतायत्वा क्दुअगदुओ ॥३९॥ त्वत्लोर्दात्तयो ॥४०॥ शिच आव

भावे ॥४१॥ इत्तेदो दीर्घान् कवित् ॥४२॥ कारणान्तं(न्त)उत्तेरात् ॥४३॥ हिन्तो
 भ्यसः ॥४४॥ अदन्ताच्छसो हाय हायश्च(ः) ॥४५॥ हेत्ते(रित्) ॥४६॥ च(ः)दुदन्तादी-
 (दो) यो च अरशसोरि(रन्तः)दीर्घश्च ॥४७॥ जिवां अरशसोरोत् ॥४८॥ टाड्छक्षित्वे ॥४९॥
 सर्वनाम्नश्च ॥५०॥ किमच्छद्भयो ढेर्हिस्त्वित्वाः ॥५१॥ पुंसि टाड्सो(सां)सु वृद्धवत् ॥५२॥
 पञ्च्यन्तस्य तद् जिवां से च ॥५३॥ पदस्य ॥५४॥ इदमः सवयं ॥५५॥ अग्नि रां
 च ॥५६॥ इमात्पामि ॥५७॥ अस्तिमिमस्तिश्च खै ॥५८॥ जिवामिदं सौ ॥५९॥
 क्त्वावे खनोरिदमिन्व ॥६०॥ एतद् एदायमाने(मि) ॥६१॥ युष्मद् खमोस्तुर्न ॥६२॥
 दौ तद् तए ॥६३॥ अस्मदोह(ऽहं)हं सौ ॥६४॥ शेर्यं तु महाराष्ट्रोलङ्कारादित्युक्तेन ॥६५॥
 वातोः परस्मैपदं प्रायः ॥६६॥ विप्रक्षिप्यमिप्रमर्मां दिन्तिस्त्रिभमिन्हाः ॥६७॥ हिहस्ता
 भविष्यति ॥६८॥ हकारे अत इद्वा ॥६९॥ स्तस्यात्वं मिपि ॥६९॥ संयोगे मितो विन्दुश्च
 ॥७०॥ विष्वादी ति(पु)क्सिपिं दु न्नु सु ॥७१॥ सिपो द्विश्च ॥७२॥ लुक् बादन्तात् ॥७३॥
 वातोस्त्रिवादावेदासौ बहुलम् ॥७४॥ यक् इञ्चः ॥७५॥ इञ्च इञ्च च ॥७६॥ अतस्तत्त्वमविष्यत्-
 खित् ॥७७॥ भवतेभ्योभौ बहुलम् ॥७८॥ दाको देः ॥७९॥ भविष्यति दः ॥८०॥
 तुमव्ययोर्दौ ॥८१॥ क्त्वां दः ॥८२॥ यकि दीः ॥८३॥ कृन्ः कः ॥८४॥ तुमव्ययोः
 काः ॥८५॥ विप्रतेष्विदः ॥८६॥ उत्तिष्ठतेस्तयः ॥८७॥ अहोर्गएहः ॥८८॥ यका सह
 गेज्जवेष्पी वा ॥८९॥ शक्तेः सकृत्सकणौ ॥९०॥ एवं ब्रूवन्मोर्बुक् ॥९१॥ शृणोसादेः
 शृणादयः ॥९२॥ शेर्यं प्रयोगतः ॥९३॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Sauraseni dialect. 2. Often it differs from Mahārāṣṭrī, because it follows Sanskrit more closely. 3. Excepting the points indicated in the following Sūtras, Sauraseni follows Mahārāṣṭrī. 4. Regarding declension, we have the following rules. 5. *Añjara*, etc., are not changed to *iñjāla*, etc. 6. In *idriśa*, etc., *i* is not changed to *e*(?) 7. *Sripoti*, etc., are not changed to *supra*, etc., in the passive voice. 8. *Bhuj*, etc., are not usually changed to *bhoda*, etc., before the affixes *futan* and *faryā*. 9. *T*, *th*, *p* and *ph*, when single and noninitial, are often changed to *d*, *dā*, *b* and *bā* respectively; but the rule does not apply to the words *patākā*, *vyāpṛita* and *garvita*. 10. *Tā* is changed to *dā*. 11. *P* is changed to *b*. 12. *Ph* is changed to *bā*. 13. *T* is changed to *dā* in the word *bharata*. 14. *D*, *dā*, *v* and *y* are not changed, and remain as they are in Sanskrit. 15. *D* and *dā* are pronounced indistinctly. [*Dā* and *bā* are to be pronounced like *d* and *b* respectively according to Mārkaṇḍeya.]

16. *ḍ* and *ṛ* are pronounced like *y* (or, with a *y*?). 17. With the exception of (or, in?) the words, *maḍaniḥā*, etc., *ḷ* is not changed. 18. *Ṇy*, *ṣṇ* and *ny* become *ṇṇ* (Mark *ṣṇ*) optionally. 19. *Jṇ* becomes *ṇ* optionally. 20. In the words *ṣṛya*, etc., *ṛy* is not changed to *ṣṇ* (but to *yṣṇ*?). 21. In the words, *kṣetra*, etc., *kṣ* is changed to *kḥ*. 22. *Ṣ* is changed to *ḥ* optionally in the words *daṣa* and *chaturdaṣa*. 23. But *ṣ* of these words is not changed to *ḥ* in a personal name. 24. The word *vāshpa* in the sense of "a tear" becomes *vappha* and *vāha*. 25. The word *apūrva* becomes *avarūvam* optionally (alternately *auvām*?). 26. The word *idānim* becomes *dāni*, when it is not at the beginning of a sentence. 27. The word *stṛi* is changed to *itthi*. 28. *Eva* is changed to *yveva*. 29. *Iva* is changed to *via*. 30. The word *ācharya* is changed to *achchherīam*. 31. The words *śatruḥna*, etc., are changed to *sattuddha* ("ha? Mark 'ggha, Rām. 'ha), etc. 32. The words *tāvaḥa*, *māmaḥa*, etc., are [changed respectively to *tuhākera*, *maḥākera*, etc.?] 33. The words *agnichit* (*alimchit*?), etc., are not changed(?) 34. The word *bhāgadhya* is masculine optionally. 35. The word *ḡona* is neuter optionally. 36. Sandhi is generally as in Sanskrit. 37. *Punavi* and *punovi* are used in the sense of *punar=api*. 38. *Ia* is used in place of the absolutive affixes *kṛtā* and *lyap*. 39. But *kṛtā=īadva*, *gātā=gaḍva*. 40. *Tva*, *ṣat=da*, *tāna*. 41. *-āva* and *āve* are used in the place of *ṣich*, the suffix of the causative. 42. *Do* is used for the case-affix *nasi* (abl. sing.), but sometimes *ā* is also used after words ending in *u*. 43. But *lārandī* becomes *kārand* compulsorily. 44. *Hinto* is used for the case-affix *bhyas* (abl. plu.). 45. After words ending in *a*, *śas* (acc. plu.) is substituted by *hāpa* and *hānam* (?). 46. *E* is used for the case-affix *ṣi* (loc. sing.) after words of the *a*-stem. 47. *O* and *ḡo* are substituted for the case-affixes *ṣas* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) after words ending in *i* and *u*, and the final vowel of the words is optionally lengthened (?). 48. *Jaś* (nom. plu.) and *śas* (acc. plu.) are substituted by *o* after words of the feminine gender. 49. In words of the feminine gender, *iā*, (inst. sing.), *śas* (gen. sing.) and *ṣi* (loc. sing.) are substituted by *e*. 50. *E* is also used for the above case-affixes in the pronouns. 51. *Ni* (loc. sing.) is substituted by *hi*, *si* and *ttha* after the pronouns *lim*, *yaḍ* and *tad*. 52. These pronouns are declined like the word *vriksha* when followed by *tā* (inst. sing.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). 53. *Tad*, followed by the sixth case-affix, is substituted by *se* in the feminine gender. [Nitti-Dolch the sixth case-affix after *tad*, masc and neut.] 54. The following rules speak of substitutes for pronouns together with case-affixes. 55. *Ayam* is substituted for *idam*(masc.)+*su* (nom. sing.). 56. *Naṃ* (alternately *ḡnam*?) is substituted for *idam*+*am* (acc. sing.) optionally. 57. *Imānam* is substituted for *idam*+*ām* (gen. plu.). 58. *Asm* and *imasm* are

optionally(?) substituted for *idam* + *hi* (loc. sing.). 59. *Iyam* is substituted for *idam* (fem.) + *su* (nom. sing.). 60. *Idam* and *imam* are substituted for *idam* (neut.) + *su* (nom. sing.) and *idam* (neut.) + *am* (acc. sing.). 61. *Eddanam* is compulsorily substituted for *etad* + *am* (gen. plu.). 62. *Tumam* is substituted for *yushmad* + *su* (nom. sing.) and *yushmad* + *am* (acc. sing.). 63. *Tat* and *tac* are substituted for *yushmad* + *hi* (loc. sing.). 64. *Aham* and *ham* (?) are substituted for *asmad* + *su* (nom. sing.). 64a. The rest is as in *Mahārsahtri* and has already been treated before. [This seems to be a commentator's remark.] 65. Verbs are generally used in the *parasmaipada* (active). 66. *Tip* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. present), *hi* (= *anti*, 3rd pers. plu. present), *sip* (2nd pers. sing. present), *tha* (2nd pers. plu. present), *mip* (1st pers. sing. pres.) and *mas* (1st pers. plu. present) are respectively substituted by *di*, *nti*, *si*, *dha*, *mi* and *mha*. *Hi*, *ha* and *sa* are used before the above conjugational affixes to indicate the future tense. 68. Before *ha* (and *hi*?) the final *a* of a verb may be changed to *i* (alternately to *e*). 69. Before *mip* (1st pers. sing.) *sa* indicative of future is changed to *sā* (may be changed to *ss*?). 70. *Ssam* may be substituted for *sa* + *mip* (1st pers. sing. future). 71. *Du*, *ntu* and *su* are respectively substituted for *tip* (3rd pers. sing.), *hi* (= *anti*, 3rd pers. plu.) and *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood. 72. *Hi* is optionally substituted for *sip* (2nd pers. sing.) in the imperative mood. 73. The conjugational affix of 2nd pers. sing. is optionally elided after verbs ending in *a* in the imperative mood. 74. Before *tip* etc. (i.e. before all the conjugational affixes) verbs may variously take *e* and *i* as a stematic vowel. 75. *Ypk*, the suffix of the passive voice, is substituted by *ia*. 76. This *ia* is optionally changed to *iya*. 77. Before *tavya* (also *tumam*?) and in the future tense, the final *a* of a verb is changed to *i*. 78. The root *bhā* generally becomes *bhe* and *bhava*. 79. *Dā* becomes *de* before conjugational affixes. 80. *Dā* becomes *dat* before the conjugational suffix of the future. 81. *Dā* remains unchanged before *tumam* and *tavya*. 82. *Dā* becomes *de* before *kta*. 83. Before *yal* (i.e. in the passive voice), *dā* is changed to *di*. 84. *Kri* is changed to *kara* before conjugational affixes. 85. *Kri* is changed to *kā* before *tumam* and *tavya*. 86. *Sthā* is changed to *chiffha*. 87. *Sthā*, preceded by *ut*, is changed to *uttha*. 88. *Grah* is changed to *genha*. 89. With *yok* (i.e. in the passive voice), *grah* is changed to *genha* and *gheppa* optionally. 90. *Sak* is changed to *sakla* and *sakkana* (Mārk. *saktuna*). 91. Similarly, *brā* and *vach* are changed to *vuchcha*. 92. *Sru*, etc., are changed to *suna*, etc. 93. The rest is in accordance with usage.

Chapter X.—*Prāchyā Bhāṣā.*

अथ प्राच्या ॥१॥ भवतः सी भवं ॥२॥ भवत्या भोदी ॥३॥ दुहितरि धीदा ॥४॥
हीनसम्बुद्धावरे ॥५॥ इणं वेदमर्थे ॥६॥ वक्रे वहुद(द?)श्च ॥७॥ अवहतोऽप्रकृते ॥८॥
होक्खमाथो भविष्यति ॥९॥ एवार्ये प्येवचिन्नेत्राः ॥१०॥ आरे सम्बुद्धपेत्तयो ॥११॥
अविद अवे(वि?)द निर्वेदे ॥१२॥ लोकोक्तयो र्व(व?)हुलम् ॥१३॥ शोषे शौरसेनी ॥१४॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the *Prāchyā* dialect. 2 The word *bhavat* + *su* (nom. sing.) becomes *bhavam*. 3 *Bhavati* becomes *bhodi*. 4 *Duhitā* becomes *dhiḍā*. 5. *Āre* (ā according to Nitti-Dolohi) is used in addressing a person of inferior rank. 6 *Inaṃ* is optionally used in the sense of *idam*. 7. *Vakra* is optionally substituted by *vankuna* (*vanluda*?). 8. *Avahata* is substituted for *aparakṛta*. 9 The word *bhaviṣyat* is substituted by *hokkhamāna*. 10. *Eva* is substituted by *pyeva*, *chia* and *chea*. [*Māikandeya* ॥११॥, ॥१२॥] 11 *Āre* is used to indicate address and indifference. 12 *Āvida* and *aveda* (*avida avida* according to Nitti-Dolohi) are used to indicate disgust or despair. 13. Expressions prevalent among the people are often used. 14. The rest (i.e. what is unspecified) of *Prāchyā* is as in *Sauraseni*.

Chapter XI.—*Āvanti Bhāṣā*

अथावन्ती ॥१॥ महाराष्ट्रीशौरसेन्योरैक्यम् ॥१क॥ दे(ले?) रेकलोपो वा ॥२॥ इ(त?)-
कारो बहुलं स्वरशेषः ॥३॥ ति(त्)तिपोर्ज्ज्ज्जा भवति भवत्ता(वर्त्तमाने?) भविष्यति तिचार्ये
(विध्यर्थे?) ॥४॥ धातुतिदोर्मध्ये च ॥५॥ शृणोत्यादेर्यका सह ध्रुव्वादयः ॥६॥ भविष्यत्-
कारो शृणोत्यादेर्मिमा सोच्छ[मादयः]श्च ॥७॥ ध्रुवो हो होइ(अ?) ॥८॥ विशेषतोऽनन्तरं
वच्यते सयथा ॥९॥ तवममयोस्तुद्गु महु च ॥१०॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the *Āvanti* dialect. 1a. It is an admixture (P) of *Mahārāṣṭri* and *Sauraseni*. 2. In the word *tru* (P), the elision of *r* is optional. 3. *T* (P) is generally represented by the inherent vowel, but is not always elided. 4. In the present and future tenses (P) and in the imperative mood (P), *ṛṇa* and *ṛṇā* are used for the proper conjugational suffixes (P). 5. *Jya* and *ṇā* are also used between the verb and the conjugational suffix. 6 With *yak* (i.e. in the passive voice), *śru*, etc., become *suṛva*, etc. 7. In the future

tense *śru+miṣ* (1st pers. sing.), etc., become *sochēkhay*, etc. 8. The root *bhā* is changed to *ho* and *hes* (*hoḥ?*). 9. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has wrongly crept into the text.] 10. *Tava* becomes *tuddhu* (*tuhu?*) and *mama* becomes *mahu* optionally.

Chapter XII.—Māgadhī Bhāṣhā

अथ मागधी ॥१॥ शौरसेनीतः प्रायः ॥१॥ सर्वैल सधोः शः ॥२॥ षः प्रकृत्वा कश्चित् ॥३॥ रो लः ॥४॥ जम्भयोर्य्यो ॥५॥ कस्यस्य कः ॥६॥ न कस्यो. ॥७॥ कस्य संयोगवैपरीत्यम् ॥८॥ त्यदयोः रतप्तौ ॥९॥ तप्तयोः कश्चित् ॥१०॥ च्छस्य थः ॥११॥ थस्य ल(ह?) कश्चित् ॥१२॥ जुः स्पष्टतालव्यः ॥१३॥ निषेधबाहुल्यम् ॥१४॥ क्लो दाखिब ॥१५॥ कश्चिदिद् ॥१६॥ कनि दीर्घः ॥१७॥ उदवापयो. ॥१८॥ अधुनायै-उहुवि ॥१९॥ वसवी वसयी ॥२०॥ पुरि(र)वे पुरिसः ॥२१॥ कोष्ठादीना कोशिनादयः ॥२२॥ ही विस्मयोपहासक्रातेषु ॥२३॥ छेले अले चाक्षेपसम्भाषणयो. ॥२४॥ अदन्तसोरिदेतौ पुंसि ॥२५॥ लृक् च च्छन्दोबशात् ॥२६॥ ठसे(सो?) हेत्वच्चा(हो वा प्राग?)दीर्घ-धातोः ॥२७॥ पथे ढस. त्स ए च ॥२८॥ सम्बुदे(दे)रेदोवौ ॥२९॥ आह्वोक्षेपे ॥३०॥ अहमर्थे हके हगे हुम्भ ॥३१॥ गुम्मानिलयै गुम्भम् ॥३२॥ तिष्ठतेविद्. ॥३३॥ इक्षे(ने)-वैरयञ्च(थ) ॥३४॥ छटि भुवो हुवथ ॥३५॥ कृतोः कप्यः ॥३६॥ कृमृगमा कमगाः कृत्य कृत्यञ्च वा ॥३७॥ वोच(च्य)ते [ङि]लोपथ ॥३८॥

Translation

1 Now we speak of the Māgadhī dialect 1a It takes its forms usually from the Sauraseni dialect. 2 *S* and *śh* are always substituted by *ś* 3 In a few cases *śh* is not changed 4 *E* is substituted by *i* 5. *J* and *jh* are respectively substituted by *y* and *yh* 6 Sauraseni *kḥh* (=Sansk. *ksh*) is substituted by *śh*. 7 *Kḥhu* (=Sansk. *lḥhu*) is not changed. 8. *Kḥh* may also be changed to *śh* (=akh). 9 The Sauraseni conjuncts *tth* and *ḥḥ* are respectively changed to *t* [M *tth*, *śch*] and *śt* [M, R. *tth*]. 10 Sometimes Sauraseni *tt* and *ḥḥ* are respectively changed to *t* and *śt* [M., R. *t*]. 11 Sauraseni *cl.ckh* is changed to *śch* 12. *Dh* is sometimes changed to *l* (*h?*) [Markandeya enjoins the substitution of non-initial *dh* by *h*.] 13 The pronunciation of *ch*, *ckh*, *j* and *jh* is perfectly palatal (i.e. not dento-palatal as possibly in Mahārāṣṭrī and Sauraseni). 14. There are also violations of this rule (i.e., the letters of the *cha-rara* are sometimes elided or are pronounced as dento-palatals). 15. The absolutive suffix *kṛtḥ* is optionally substituted by *dāḥ* (alternately by Saur. *sa*). 16. Sometimes

ktvā is substituted by *i*. 17. Before the *svārthika* affix *la*, the final vowel of a word may be long. 18. *U* is substituted for *ava* and *apa*. 19. *Ahuni* is used in the sense of *adhunā*. 20. The word *vasati* becomes *vasadhī*. 21. *Puruṣa* becomes *pūṣa*. 22. The words *koṣha*, etc., become *loṣha*, etc. 23. *Hī* is used to indicate *vismaya* (surprise and uncertainty), *upahāsa* (ridicule) and *kuśala* (happiness). 24. *Lele* and *ale* are used to indicate *ālśhepa* (reproach) and *sambhāshana* (address). 25. *I* and *e* are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) after masculine words ending in *a*. 26. *Su* (nom. sing.) is sometimes elided for the sake of the metre. 27. *Nas* (gen. sing.) is optionally substituted by *ha* after words ending in *a* and the *a* becomes *ā* (?). 28. Alternately, *nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *sa* (i.e. *śa*, after masc. words) and *e* (after fem. words). 29. *E* and *o* are used as the terminations of the vocative. 30. *Ā* is used as the termination of the vocative to indicate *ālśhepa* or reproach. 31. *Hale*, *hage* and *hum* are substituted for the word *aḥam*. 32. The word *yushman* (with acc. plu.) is substituted by *tumham* optionally - alternately by *tumhe*. 33. *Sthā* is changed to *chāttha*. 34. *Prish* is changed to *vaśā*. 35. *Bhū* is changed to *hūva* before the affixes of the future tense. 36. The root *kṛt* is changed to *kappa*. 37. *Kṛi*, *mṛi* and *gaṃ* are changed respectively to *la*, *ma* and *ga* and after them the participial affix *lta* is changed to *da* optionally (alternately to *da* ?). 38. The *da* (?) is sometimes elided as indicated by the word *vā* in the previous Sūtra. [This seems to be the remark of a commentator which has somehow crept into the text.]

Chapter XIII.—*Sākāri Vibhāṣā*.

अथ शाकरी विभाषा ॥१॥ विरीयो मागभ्याः ॥१क॥ दुष्कृतसद्वयोः कृत्य क्तो वा ॥२॥ छः रटः ॥३॥ (नङ्) विष्टरस्य ॥४॥ त्वः प्रकृत्वा च ॥५॥ रयाले शिञ्जालः ॥६॥ ह्रदस्य हितकञ्च ॥७॥ ह्रदस्य व्यञ्च ॥८॥ क्वाहुस्यम् ॥९॥ लोपागमविकारः ॥१०॥ नर्णानो बहुलम् ॥१०॥ व्यल्यञ्च सुप्तिद्विराणाम् ॥११॥ खारेक्षुक् च ॥१२॥ संयोगे गुरुत्वं वा ॥१३॥

अपार्यमकर्म व्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं हतोपमम् ।

न्यायकार्यादिवाञ्छन् शकारवचनं भवेत् ॥१४॥

यञ्चोहि (यवञ्चुः इ) शकारभाषायाम् ॥१५॥

Translation

Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called *Sākāri* i.e. It is a particular variety of the *Māgadhī* dialect. 2. *Kṣh* is optionally substituted by

kkh in the words *dushpreksha* and *sadyaksha* (alternately, Mark. and Rām. *śch*; Nitti-Dolali *kk*). 3. *śṣa* is substituted for *śṣ*. 4. The conjunct *śṣ* in the word *viśṣara* is [not changed to *śṣ*]. 5. The Mahārāṣṭrī conjunct *tth* optionally remains unchanged (alternately *tta* as in Māg.) 6. *śṣā* is substituted for *śṣā*. 7. *Hṛdaya* is optionally substituted by *hṛtā* [Rām *haḍakka*]. 8. *Iva* is optionally substituted by *va* (alternately, *via*). 9. The suffix *la* is often added to a word without changing the meaning. 10. Often there are elision, augmentation and substitution of letters. 11. There is also confusion or interchange of the vowels of conjugational as well as declensional terminations. 12. The declensional terminations are sometimes elided. 13. The vowel before a conjunct is optionally long. 14. The Śākārī subdialect is devoid of good sense, disorderly, contradictory, full of repetitions and false similes, and opposed to propriety and good conduct. 15. *Y* is to be written above the letters of the character *ya* (?) in the Śākārī subdialect.

Chapter XIV.—Chāṇḍālī Vibhāṣā.

अथ चाणवाली ॥१॥ मागधीविकृतिः ॥१॥ अतः सो(सा)बोदेली ॥२॥ हसः
रशः ॥३॥ म्मिध डेः ॥४॥ इः प्रकृषा वा ॥५॥ वः सररोषध ॥६॥ इवत्थ वध(ध ?)
॥७॥ क् इय(अइ) ॥८॥ माम्मोक्तयो व(व)हुत्तम् ॥९॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the subordinate dialect called Chāṇḍālī. 1a. It is a corrupt form of the Māgadhī dialect. 2. *Su* (nom. sing.) is substituted by *s* and *s* after words ending in *a*. 3. *Nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *śa* [and not alternatively by *śha* as in Māgadhī]. 4. *Ni* (loc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *mm* (alternately by *s*). 5. The conjunct *tṣa* sometimes remains unchanged (i.e., is not changed to *śṣ* as in Māg.) 6. *Va* is sometimes, but not always, elided. 7. *Iva* is optionally substituted by *va* (alternately by *via*). 8. The absolutive suffix *lṭas* is substituted by *ya* (Rām *ia*). 9. Vulgar expressions are largely employed in the Chāṇḍālī subdialect.

Chapter XV.—Śābarī Vibhāṣā.

शाबरी च मागधीविशेषः ॥१॥ च(री) प्रकृषा ॥१॥ पेक्कत्थ अहमर्थे
अहमर्थे हके हव ॥३॥ डेसिटि(एदित्ती) सी च ॥४॥ सोत्कु च ॥५॥ का सम्मुदे-
नि(र्नि)समगौरवे ॥६॥ प्रायो देशीतः ॥७॥

Translation

1. The subdialect called Sīhārī is another variety of the Māgadhī dialect. [According to Rām., it is the language of charcoal-burners, hunters, boatmen and wood-cutters] 1a The consonant 'ch (P r P) remains unchanged. 2. In pekḥka(=prekḥ), kḥkḥ is changed to śch (and not to śka) 3. *Hake* (Rām. *hapā*) and *haṃ* (or, *ahaṃ*) are substituted for *aham*. 4. *Ē* and *i* (P) are substituted for *su* (nom. sing.) optionally alternately *o* (P). 5. The termination *su* is optionally elided. 6. *Kā* (āP) is always used in the vocative to indicate diarespoot. 7. Expressions are often taken from the provincial speech.

Chapter XVI.—*Takkadeśiṃ Vībhaṣā*.

अथ टकदेशीया विसाया ॥१॥ संस्कृतशौरसेन्योः ॥१॥ उद्गुलम् ॥२॥ एव
दान्तस्य ॥३॥ सु(भ्य)सो ह' हुब ॥४॥ आमो वा ॥५॥ वा (सर्वादिभु च?) ॥६॥ त्वं(त्वम)-
ह'साम्येडु दुत इमं ॥७॥ यथातयोर्जिघत्सिषी ॥८॥ शेष' प्रयोगात् ॥९॥ हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्वमा
टकभाषामपभ्रंस(श)मिच्छति न प्राकृतम् ॥१०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the subdialect called Takkadeśiṃ [spoken by gamblers and other knaves according to Rām.]. 1a. It is an admixture of Sanskrit and the Sauraseni dialect. 2 The termination *u* is largely employed alternately *a*. 3 *Ēm* optionally substitutes the declensional termination of the instrumental singular after the *a*-stem words alternately *ena*. 4. *Haṃ* and *huṃ* are substituted for *āhyas* (abl plu) alternately *hinto*(P). 5. *Ham* and *hum* are optionally substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.). 6. *Haṃ* and *hum* may also be employed in the pronouns (P) 7. Words of the same import as *tvam* and *aham* are respectively substituted by *tunga* and *hamam* (P) optionally. [Mark *tvam*=*tunga*, *aham*=*ammi*, *huṃ*, *mamam*; *mama*=*mahum*. Rām. *tvam*=*tuhum*, *aham*=*hamu*; *mama*=*maham*.] 8. *Yathā* and *tathā* are respectively substituted by *yidha* and *tidha* optionally (P) alternately *jahā* and *tahā* (P), *yidham* and *tidham* (P). 9. The rest depends on usage. 10 According to the grammarian Harisandra, this Takkadeśiṃ subdialect is an Apabhramśa and is not an ordinary Prakrit dialect. [According to Harī., Apabhṛ could be employed in dramas]

Chapter XVII.—*Nāgaraka Apabhramśa*.

अथातोऽपभ्रंशानुशासनम् ॥१॥ तत्र नागरकः ॥१॥ शषोः सेः ॥२॥ यस्य जः ॥३॥
नो यः ॥४॥ क्कादेः खरशेषता ॥५॥ यो जः ॥६॥ हो(फो) मः ॥७॥ खचयमो हः ॥८॥

प्रकटादावादेरात्वं वा ॥६॥ शुभादे- श्रुत- इत्वम् ॥१०॥ ओदीतः ॥११॥ अतः पीरुवादिषु
 ॥१२॥ अनादावयुजं(जा) कस्तथा गयदवा वा ॥१३॥ व्यासादीनामादेरर्थो(घो) रः ॥१४॥
 रश्रुतौ प्रकृत्या च ॥१५॥ गुदलावच च्छन्दोवशात् ॥१६॥ अज्जलौ च बहुलम् ॥१७॥
 अदन्ता सन्धा(जरशरश ?)भौ डा ॥१८॥ क्षिया ङि ॥१९॥ डुब्ब ॥२०॥ व्यस्ये(यो)
 लिङ्गानाम् ॥२१॥ ढयामोहं(ख) ॥२२॥ यावतावतोर्जिमतौ ॥२३॥ मृतइत्यर्थे भूः ॥२४॥
 कद्-किं प्रदि-किं प्रतु-किं प्रु-कि(की)रा- पञ्चामी (पञ्च?) किमर्थे ॥२५॥ इवार्थे या यद् यावद्
 एहं जिम जयि ॥२६॥ जइं पादप्ररो ॥२७॥ सेदे बइ ॥२८॥ खच्छन्दादौ छच्छन्दादयः
 ॥२९॥ तदीयमदीययोस्तुम्भाराम्भारौ ॥३०॥ वदादवो देरयाम् ॥३१॥ एविण्वेपिण्वेप्येवयः
 क्तः ॥३२॥ इदिञौ च ॥३३॥ प्पिप्पिण्वो च ऋव- ॥३४॥ भूयमि-कुर्मा भौ-गं-कटा
 विभावा ॥३५॥ (सुम?) एह याहुं यां याहिं एयि एयिण्णु एवयः(एवि) ॥३६॥ इअव्वत्तव्यः
 ॥३७॥ इएव्वत् एव्वत्तव्व ङीवे ॥३८॥ तणुप्पणुदास्तत्तलोः ॥३९॥ तल्ल- कर्मणे ॥४०॥ अयः
 लमोक्तव्य ॥४१॥ क्षिया जरयासोक्तव्य ॥४२॥ मिस्सुपोहिं ॥४३॥ हे हो च हसेः ॥४४॥
 हं हुं चाम- ॥४५॥ अदन्तात् टामिस्सत्तस्सि(ट्ट) प्राकृतवच ॥४६॥ ईदुद्धया ट एणव
 ॥४७॥ मिस एहिब्ब ॥४८॥ क्षियामेच टः ॥४९॥ हें (हि?) च कस- ॥५०॥ सम्भोचनबहुत्वे हो
 ॥५१॥ किंयत्तवा प्रयमाद्विदीयात्तमीषु प्राकृतवच ॥५२॥ टादौ तु पुंङ्गीवयोः ॥५३॥
 कसः सुल्लत्त दीर्घो वा ॥५४॥ यत्तदोरमि अं तुब्ब ॥५५॥ कस्सुयोर्जु तलु च ॥५६॥ लमो-
 रिदम इत्तं न शरा(रश)योः ॥५७॥ एमु च ङीवे ॥५८॥ अन्मेदेम- ॥५९॥ एतद् एहः
 ॥६०॥ लमोरेहु एही च ॥६१॥ यत्तदेतदा सौ जे से ए ॥६२॥ बुम्मद्- सौ तुहं ॥६३॥
 जरशसोत्तुम्हाइ ॥६४॥ मिसि तुम्हेहिं ॥६५॥ अस्सव्व अम्मादिषु मह ॥६६॥ महम्महुं-
 मज्झनो कसि ॥६७॥ प्रकृतिप्रलायसन्धी बहुलमज्जलोपः ॥६८॥ सुमप्रलाये चं (?) ॥६९॥
 धातवः परस्मैपदे(दि)न- ॥७०॥ सिपस्सो दब्ब मसो हुं च ॥७१॥ पिप्पादी सिप इयुकिक्कराव
 यस्य डुब्ब ॥७२॥ इहिं(हूं)टि ॥७३॥ इस्सव्व ॥७४॥ मसि कल्ल- कसः ॥७५॥ लैकात्वे शत्
 ॥७६॥ सिपत्तेस्सकच्च ॥७७॥ तिमेस्सिम्म(म्म?)व ॥७८॥ द्योः प्रस्सदेक्खौ च ॥७९॥ स्वाप-
 यत्तेष्वः ॥८०॥ आरवेरावह(शय?) ॥८१॥ आनक्खे(वे)क्खवः ॥८२॥ आदुवत्थेद
 (आयातेरदूरत्वेन?) आप- ॥८३॥ अजेव्वव्यः ॥८४॥ क्वमः करः ॥८५॥ प्रहेयं एहः ॥८६॥ वदे-
 बोल्लः ॥८७॥ सुवेमुं(क्)मेल्ल-म(मु?)माः ॥८८॥ नरे(वे?)अवः ॥८९॥ शेषं शिष्टप्रयोगात् ॥९०॥

Translation

I The following are the rules regarding the Apabhramśa dialects.

1a. Among these there is one called Nāgaraka whose characteristics

are specified below 2. *S* is substituted for *ś* and *śh*. 3 *J* is substituted for *y*. 4. *N* is substituted by *n*. 5 *K*, *g*, etc. (intervocal *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p* and *b*, together with *y* and *v*?) are represented by the inherent vowels. 6. *B* is substituted for *p* 7 *Bh* is substituted for *ph* 8 *H* is substituted for *kḥ*, *gḥ*, *tḥ* and *bḥ* 9 In the words *prakata*, etc., the first *a* is optionally lengthened 10. In the words *gradhra*, etc., *ṛ* is substituted for *r* 11. *Au* is substituted by *o* 12 In the words *gaurusha*, etc., *au* is substituted by *ā*. 13. *K*, *kḥ*, *t* and *tḥ*, when simple and intervocalic, are optionally changed to *g*, *gḥ*, *d* and *dḥ* respectively 14 In the words *vyāsa*, etc. *r* is used with the first consonant (i.e. in the place of *y*) 15 After consonants *r* and *r* sometimes remain unchanged. 16 A long vowel may be short according to the needs of the metre 17. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the vowels and consonants. 18. The suffix *ḍā* is optionally substituted for *śas* (acc. plu. masc., also *jas* or *nom. plu.*?) and *śi* (nom. and acc. plu. neut.) after words ending in *a*. 19. *Ḍi* (or, *ḍiP*) is substituted for the nom. and acc. plu. affixes (?) after words of the feminine gender 20 *Du* is also used for the above case-affixes (in all the genders?) 21. There is confusion of genders. 22 The final vowel of words may be short before *ni* (loc. sing.) and *ām* (gen. plu.). 23 *Jima* is used for *yāvat* and *tama* (*śima*)? for *tāvat* 24. *Bhāha* is used in the sense of *bhāta*. 24. *Kai*, *kimpada*, *kimpadu*, *kimpri* and *ktra* are the five words used in the sense of *him*. 26 *Na*, *naṭ*, *nāvaṭ*, *naḥam*, *jima* and *jan* are used in the sense of *iva*. 27. *Jatp* is used as an expletive particle. 28. *Vat* is used to express distress 29 *Svachchhanda*, etc., are substituted by *chhachchhanda*, etc 30 *Tadiya* is substituted by *tumbhāra* and *madiya* by *ambhāra*. 31 *Vada*, etc., are words (?) used in the Deśī or provincial dialect 32 *Evina*, *epinu*, *epi* and *epi* are substituted for *kṛvā* and *lyap*. 33. *I* and *ia* are also substituted for *kṛvā* and *lyap*. 34. *Ppi* and *ppipu* are substituted for *kṛvā* after the root *brū* and the vowel *i* is changed to *e*. 34 *Bhā*, *gam* and *kri* respectively become *bho*, *gam* and *kara* optionally before the absolutive suffixes *ppi* and *ppinu* 36. The suffix *tumun* (?) is substituted by *eda*, *nahum*, *nam* and *nahim* together with the absolutives *eppi*, *eppinu* and *epi*. [*Hem evam*, *ana*, *anaham*, *anahim* and *eppi*, *eppinu*, *epi*, *epinu*] 37. *Tavya* is substituted by *ivava* 38 *Tavya* is substituted by *ivavam* and *evavam* in the neuter gender. 39. The suffixes *tva* and *tā* are substituted by *tānu*, *ppanu* and *dā*. 40 *Ulla* is used in the sense of the affix *ka* added to a word without changing its meaning 41. Before *su* (nom. sing.) and *am* (acc. sing.), the final *a* of a word is optionally changed to *u*. 42. In words of the feminine gender, *u* is also substituted for the final *a* before *jas* (nom. plu.) and *śas*

(acc. plu.). 43 *Bhis* (inst. plu.) and *sup* (loc. plu.) are substituted by *hiṃ*. 44. *He* and *ho* are substituted for *nas* (abl. sing.) 45 *Ham* and *hum* are substituted for *ām* (gen. plu.) 46. Words ending in *a* remain optionally the same as in Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭrī, the principal Prakrit), before *ḥā* (inst. sing.), *bhis* (inst. plu.), *nas* (gen. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.) [According to Nitti-Dolehi, this rule provides for such forms as *rakkhehim* and *rullaham* for inst. plu. of the word *vriksha*] 47 *Tā* (in-t. sing.) is also substituted by *ena* before words ending in *i* and *u* alternately by *nā*. 48. *Ehim* is also substituted for *bhis* (inst. plu.) after words ending in *i* and *u* alternately *him*. 49 *Tā* (inst. sing.) is also substituted by *e* after words of the feminine gender 50. *Hem* (he?) is optionally substituted for *nas* (gen. sing.) after words of the feminine gender 51. *Ho* is used as the termination of voc. plu. (after both masc. and fem. nouns) 52. *Kim*, *yad* and *tad* are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī) in nom., acc. and loc. 53 The three pronouns are the same as in Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī) with *ḥā* (inst. sing.) only in the masc. and neut. 54 After the above pronouns *nas* (gen. sing.) is substituted by *su* and the preceding vowel is optionally long. Ex *lāsu*, etc. 55 *Yad+am* (acc. sing.) becomes *ṣam* and *tad+am* (acc. sing.) becomes *truṃ*. 56. *Yad+nas* (gen. sing.) and *yad+hi* (loc. sing.) become *ṣatru*, and *tad+nas* (gen. sing.) and *tad+hi* (loc. sing.) become *tatru* optionally alternately *ṣahim*, *ṣasim*, *ṣammi*, *ṣattha*, *ṣāḥ*, *ṣāḥ*, *ṣasse*, *ṣāsa*. 57 *Idam+su* and *idam+am* become *imam*. *Idam+ḥas* (acc. plu., also *idam+ṣas* or nom. plu.?) and *idam+hi* (nom. and acc. plu. neut.) do not become *imuna* (?) 58. *Idam* with the terminations of the nom. and acc. plu. neut. also becomes *emu*. 59 Otherwise *idam* before case-affixes is substituted by *ima*. 60 *Eha* is substituted for *etad*. 61 *Etad+su* (nom. sing.) and *etad+am* (acc. sing.) also become *shu* and *cho* alternately *cha*. 62. *Yad+su* (nom. sing.)=*ṣe*, *tad+su*=*ṣe*, *etad+su*=*e*. 63 *Yushmad+su*=*tuham*. 64. *Yushmad+ṣas* (nom. plu.), *yushmad+ḥas* (acc. plu.)=*tumhām*. 65 *Yushmad+bhis* (inst. plu.)=*tumhehim* (6 *Asmad* followed by *am* (acc. sing.), *ḥā* (inst. sing.) and *ni* (loc. sing.) is substituted by *mai*. 67 *Asmad+nas* (gen. sing.)=*maha*, *maham* and *mayhu*. 68 In the combination of the stems and the suffixes, vowels are often elided. 69. [The meaning of the Sūtra is not clear] 70 The roots are always in the active (parasmaipadī). 71. The *t* of *tip* (conjugational affix of 3rd pers. sing. pres.) optionally becomes *d*, and *mas* (1st pers. plu.) is optionally substituted by *hup*. Ex *vaffad*, *vaffahup*. 72. In the imperative mood, etc., *i*, *u* and *hi* are substituted for *sup* (2nd pers. sing.) and *hu* is optionally substituted for *tha* (2nd pers. plu.) 73. *Ihi* is used (before the conjugational suffix of the

present) in the futuro tense. Ex. *karahati* 74. *Isa* is also used (before the conjugational suffix of the present) in the future tense 75. Before *mas* (1st. pers plu) the root *li* is changed to *lāsa*. 76. *Satī* (=ant) is used in the past, present and future tenses 77. *Sthā* is changed to *thalaka*. 78. The root *tim* is substituted by *timba* (*timma*?) 79. *Drī* is substituted by *prasa* and *dekhka*. 80. *Sthāpi* is substituted by *thava* 81. *Ā-rush* (Mark *ā-shish*) is substituted by *āruna* 82. *Ā-chaksh* is substituted by *alika* (Mark *chakika*) 83. *Ā-vā* is changed to *āva* to indicate coming from a short distance (?). 84. *Vraj* becomes *vaffa* 85. *Kri* becomes *kara* 86. *Grah* becomes *grinla* 87. *Vad* becomes *bolla*. 88. *Much* becomes *mulla*, *mella* and *mua* 89. *Vach* becomes *chava* 90. The rest is in accordance with the usage of the cultured people.

Chapter XVIII — *Vṛāchada and Other*

Apabhramas and Vibhāshās

अयं प्राचवकम्(कः) ॥१॥ वसोः शः ॥२॥ रञ्जती प्रकृता मुखवर्णम् ॥३॥ चवर्गः स्पष्ट-
तालव्यः ॥४॥ तथो वास्पष्टी ॥५॥ पदादी तद्योः टदी च ॥६॥ खह(खह)स्य खखह. ॥७॥
जे जिज जै(जै)वत्य ॥८॥ अवतो(ते)मोऽप्रादी ॥९॥ ह्ये ज्ञु(भू): ॥१०॥ प्रजेवज(ः) ॥११॥
वृषेवर्हः ॥१२॥ शेषं प्रयोगात् ॥१३॥ अयोपनागरकम्(कः) ॥१४॥ ह्योः साङ्ख्यात् ॥१५॥
सूक्ष्मान्ध(न्त)रास्तु पाञ्चालादयो लोक(तः) ॥१६॥ क्य (ः) ॥१७॥ उक्तप्राया वैवर्मी ॥१८॥
सम्बोधन(शब्दः)तथा लाटी ॥१९॥ इकारोकारप्रायौ लही (०प्रावीदी?) ॥२०॥ सवी-
प्साप्रायौ(याः) कैकेयी ॥२१॥ असमा(बहुसमासाः) गौडी ॥२२॥ एवं उक्त-वक्त्र-कुन्तल-
पायिष्ठ(एव्य)-सिंघ(ह)लादिभाषा उन्नेया(ः) ॥२३॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the *Vṛāchada* variety of *Apabhramas*. 2. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *ś* 3. With the exception of the word *bhṛītya*, *ra* and *ri* do not suffer any modification 4. Letters of the *cha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in *Mahārāṣṭrī* and *Sauraseni*). 5. *T* and *dh* are not pronounced distinctly. 6. Initial *ś* and *ḥ* are substituted by *ṣ* and *ḍ* respectively 7. *Khaṇḍa* becomes *lhaṇḍu*. 8. *Eva* becomes *ya* and *ji*. 9. *Bhā*, when not preceded by *pra*, etc., is changed to *bho*. 10. *Bhā* remains as it is before *kta*, the suffix of the indeclinable past participle 11. *Vraj* is substituted by *vaffa*. 12. *Vriś* is changed to *varha* 13. The rest is in accordance with usage. 14. Now we speak of the *Upanāgaraka* variety of

Apabhramśa 15. It is an admixture of Nāgaraka and Vr̥chada 16. The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Apabhramśa have imperceptible differences from the above varieties and these are to be ascertained from popular usage. [Cf same thing in XX, 18.] 17 [The meaning of this Sūtra is not clear.] 18. Vaidarbhi is characterised by the frequent use of the *svārthika* suffix *ulla* (Rām, *alla*). [The feminine forms like *vaidarbhi* would suggest that these are actually Vibhāsā and not Apabhramśa which would require forms like *vaidarbha* Note also the word *bhāṣā* in S 23 below. According to Rām, an Apabh dialect was considered a Vibh when it was employed in dramas.] 19 The Lāṭī is rich in interjections used to address persons 20. The Audri(?) is characterised by the frequent use of the suffixes *i* and *o*. 21 The Kaikeyī is characterised by the repetition of words(?) 22 The Gauḍī is characterised by the use of many compounds(?). 25 In the way shown above, the dialects of Dhakka (Dacca?), Vakkara (mod. Makran called Vakraṇta in the *Saktiśāhāgama Tantra*, or Barbara, or Vakkana?), Kuntala, Pāṇḍya and Simhala are to be ascertained or described.

Chapter XIX.—Kaikeya Pāñchika

अपातो(स). पैशाचिकम् ॥१॥ तत् कैक्यः(यम्) ॥२॥ संस्तुरीरसेन्योर्विकृतिः ॥३॥
अयुक्त(ना*)कृजद्वानां कषटपवा बहुलम् ॥४॥ कषटपमाना लङ्घयकाः ॥५॥ कक्षद-
उत्थपफ(र*)ः प्रकृषा ॥६॥ कलादीना चान्यत(ः) ॥७॥ यो न ॥८॥ युक्तानां विकर्यः ॥९॥
न्यक्षयाना ज्म. ॥१०॥ पत्न(यम्)सूक्ष्मयोः पत्नमसुखनी ॥११॥ र्थस्य रिजः ॥१२॥ वत्स
(पक्षत्स्य) पिक्का ॥१३॥ पृथिव्याः प्र(पुट्)पुनी ॥१४॥ विस्मयत्स्य पिष्टुमत्र ॥१५॥ गृहस्य
किहकम् ॥१६॥ तिरस्य तिरिज्म ॥१७॥ हृदयस्य हिरपकम् ॥१८॥ श्वस्य पिव ॥१९॥
कचित् कृपचिः ॥२०॥ क्वा तर्ल ॥२१॥ दाटसिद्धिपु राको राचिर्वा ॥२२॥ युय(म्)-
वयमर्थे दुप्ते अये च ॥२३॥ मयतेर्होहिवा ॥२४॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Pāñchika dialects 2 There is one among these dialects which is called Kaikeya 3 It is derived from Sanskrit and the Sauraseni dialect 4 K, ch, t, i and p are generally substituted for simple g, ṅ, ḍ, d and b respectively. 5 Kk, chh, th, tḥ and ph are substituted for gh, ṅh, ḍh, dh and bh 6 K, lh, ch, t, tḥ, i, tḥ, p and pḥ are not modified. 7. But in some cases they are elided(?) [This Sūtra is not clear.] 8 N is substituted by n 9. Conjunct consonants are separated by vowel-augmentation 10. Nya, fḥ and ny are changed to ā 11 Paśhma becomes paśhama; sūśhma becomes suśhama. 12. Rya becomes ra. 13. Pakva (?) becomes pālā.

14. *Pyithi* becomes *prathumt* (*puthumt* ? Märk. *puthumt*.) 15. *Vismaya* becomes *pisumaam*. 16. *Griha* becomes *hihaham*. 17. *Tirāśchā* becomes *tirāṃpela*. 18. *Hydaya* is changed to *huraṃpam*. [Märk. and Hem *hitapamam*.] 19. *Iva* is changed to *piva*. 20. *Kvachit* is changed to *kupachi*. 21. The absolutive suffix *ktvā* (also *lyap*) is substituted by *tānam*. 22. The word *rājan* is changed to *rāchi* optionally before *ṣ* (inst. sing.), *nam* (abl. sing.), *śas* (gen. sing.) and *śi* (loc. sing.). Ex. *rāchinda*, *raññā*; *rāchini*, *raññā*; *rāchini*, *raññā*. 23. *Tupphā* is used in the sense of *yūyam* and *apphā* in the sense of *vayam*. [Some authorities have *tupphā* and *apphā*] 24. The root *bhā* is changed to *hu* and *hwa*.

Chapter XX.—Saurasena and Other Paisāchikas.

अथ शौरसेनम् ॥१॥ रो ङः ॥२॥ धनोः यः ॥३॥ जुर्व्यङ्गतालम्बः ॥४॥ लृप्त्य रङ्गः ॥५॥
 ष्वत्स्य ङः ॥६॥ यस्य रतः ॥७॥ सत्स्य द्यविकृतिः छः (Märk स्याविकृतेः छस्य रतः) ॥८॥
 सत्स्य य इत्येके ॥९॥ पिबतेः सन्तः (पिबन्तः Rām. पिबन्तिपि पिबते) ॥१०॥ कृतमृत(ग)-
 तानां कर्मभगर(ग)ः ॥११॥ अमुनादेरदुयादयः ॥१२॥ इराणेये ॥१३॥ अदन्ताद
 सोरेत् ॥१४॥ आ(अ)मो वा ॥१५॥ लुक् च ॥१६॥ शेषं प्राकृतवच ॥१७॥ पाष्वालादयः
 सत्स्य(स्य)मेदा लोक्तः ॥१८॥ लकारस्य रङ्गः ॥१९॥ शेषं पूर्ववन्नेयम् ॥२०॥

Translation

1. Now we speak of the Saurasena Paisāchika. 2. *R* is substituted by *l*. [Of Hem's *Ohālikā Paisāchi*.] 3. *Sh* and *s* are substituted by *h*, *ś*. 4. Letters of the *sha-varga* are perfectly palatal (and not dento-palatal as possibly in *Mahārāṣṭri* and *Sauraseni*). 5. *Ksh* is changed to *śh* (Märk *chchh*). 6. *Ohchh* (Saur modification of *ksh*, etc.) is changed to *śch*. 7. *Tā* (Saur. modification of *śh*, etc.) is changed to *tt*. [Märk. *prāptā* = *gāttā*, *strī* = *ittitī*.] 8. *Shf*, derived from the root *sthā*, is changed to *tt*. Ex. *tishthati* = Saur. *cittādi* = *chittādi*. 9. *Sta* is changed to *tha*, according to some authorities. 10. *Pib* is changed to *pra*(?). Ex. *piant*(?) 11. *Kṛta*, *myta* and *gata* are respectively changed to *kaḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa*. 12. *Adhuna*, etc., are changed to *ahuna*, etc. 13. *Iva* (or, *īva*) is used to express *ākṣhepa* or reproach. 14. *Su* (nom. sing.) is substituted by *e* after words ending in *a*. Ex. *mānuṣ*. 15. *Am* (acc. sing.) is optionally substituted by *e* after nouns of the *a*-stem. 16. The declensional affix *am* (also *su*?) is sometimes added. 17. The rest is as in

Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī, but according to some, Māgadhī) 18 The Pāñchāla and other varieties of Pāñchika have imperceptible differences to be ascertained from popular usage [Of same thing in XVIII, 16] 19 In the Pāñchāla Pāñchika, *l* is substituted by *r* [According to Mārka and Rām., *r* becomes *l* and *l* becomes *r* In Rām's Gauḍa Pāñchika, either *r* or *l* may be used for *r* or *l*] 20 In other respects, it follows the one already discussed (Sauraseni Pāñchika?)

HEMACHANDRA ON APABHRAMSA

Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāna, Ch. VIII, Sec. iv, 329-446.

The rule खराया खरा प्रायोऽप्यत्रो (IV, 329) says that in Apabhramsa any vowel may be substituted for any other vowel generally. The word प्रायः in the rule suggests that the Mahārāṣṭrī forms may be used in spite of a specific rule. The rule शीरसेवीवत् (IV, 446) also allows Sauraseni forms. Note also the rule लिङ्गमन्तव्यम् (IV, 445) which says that in Apabhramsa often one gender is used for another. Note further that many of these characteristics are sometimes noticed in Epigraphic Prakrit.

Declension of Nouns (IV, 330-34) (1) देव (masc) ॥ १—देव, देवा, देवु देवो । देव, देवा ॥ २—देव, देवा, देवु । देव, देवा ॥ ३—देवे, देवं, देवेण, [देविण, देवि] । देवहिं, देवेहिं ॥ ४—देवहे, देवहु । देवहुं ॥ ५, ६—देव, देवस्य, देवस्तु, देवहो, देवह । देव, देवह ॥ ७—देवे, देवि । देवहिं ॥ Voc देव, देवा, देवु, देव । देव, देवा, देवहो ॥ (2) गिरि (masc) ॥ १, २—गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी ॥ ३—गिरिणं, गिरिण, गिरिं । गिरिहिं ॥ ४—गिरिहे । गिरिहुं ॥ ५, ६—गिरि, गिरिहे । गिरि, गिरिहं, गिरिहुं ॥ ७—गिरिहि । गिरिहुं ॥ Voc गिरि, गिरी । गिरि, गिरी, गिरिहो ॥ (3) साधु (masc) ॥ To be declined exactly like गिरि ॥ (4) कमल (neut) ॥ १, २—कमलं, कमला, कमलु । कमलं, कमला, कमलहं, कमलाहं ॥ (5) वारि, (neut) ॥ १, २—वारि, वारी । वारिहं, वारीहं ॥ (6) मधु (neut) ॥ १, २—मधु, महु । मधु, महु, मधुहं, महुहं ॥ The rest of the neuter nouns is to be declined like the masc. Neuter nouns ending in the *śūdrīka* suffix *ka* (=Prakrit *a*) will have the suffix, when followed by nom. sing. and acc. sing. case-affixes, substituted by *um* सुच्छकम्=सुच्छकतं ॥ The rest should be declined like कमल ॥ (7) मुग्धा (fem.) ॥ १, २—मुग्धा, मग्धा । मुग्धान, मुग्धाणो ॥ ३—मुग्धए, [मुग्धहं] । मुग्धहिं ॥ ४, ५, ६—मुग्धदे, [मुग्धहिं] । मुग्धहु ॥ ७—मुग्धहि । मुग्धहि ॥ Voc.

मुद, मुदा । मुद, मुदा, मुदहो, मुदाहो ॥ Feminine words ending in ः (e.g. मति), in ि (e.g. तरुणी), in उ (e.g. धेनु) and in ँ (e.g. वधू) are declined like मुग्धा ॥

Declension of Pronouns (IV. 355-81) Hem's additional rules regarding the declension of pronouns in Apabhramśa give the following forms, (1) The base सर्व is optionally changed to साह ॥ सर्वः=साहु, सव्वु ॥ (2) इद्म् is substituted by आय before case-affixes, but in the neuter gender, its nom. sing. as well as acc. sing. form is इम् ॥ (3) किम् is optionally substituted by काइ' and कवण (alternately by किं) ॥ ५—कहाँ, किहे ॥ ६—optionally कासु (fem. कहे) ॥ ७—कहिं ॥ (4) यद् ॥ १, २—धुं (optional) ॥ ५—जहाँ ॥ ६—optionally जासु (fem. जहे) ॥ ७—जहि ॥ (5) तद् ॥ १, २—तं (optional) ॥ ५—तहा ॥ ६—optionally तासु (fem. तहे) ॥ ७—तहि ॥ (6) एतद् ॥ १, २—एहो (masc., एह (fem.), एहु (neut.)) ॥ एह ॥ (7) अदस् ॥ १, २—PI ओइ ॥ Cf. एकाहि', अमहि', etc., in loc. sing. (8) युष्मद् ॥ १—तुहु' । तुम्हे, तुम्हर् ॥ २—पह', तह' । तुम्हे, तुम्हर् ॥ ३—पह', तह' । तुम्हेहि' ॥ ४, ५, ६—तव, तुम्हा, तुम्ह, [तुहु] । तुम्हर् ॥ ७—पह', तह' । तुम्हासु ॥ (9) अस्मद् ॥ १—हव' । अम्हे, अम्हर् ॥ २—मह' । अम्हे, अम्हर् ॥ ३—मह' । अम्हेहि ॥ ४, ५, ६—महु, मज्जु' । अम्हर् ॥ ७—मह' । अम्हासु ॥

Conjugation (IV, 382-38). In regard to conjugation, Apabhramśa follows the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī with the following additional conjugational suffixes. Present—1st pers. उ' । हु' ॥ 2nd pers. हि । हु ॥ 3rd pers. • । हि' ॥ कुर्वन्ति=करहि' । रोदिषि=रअहि । इच्छय=इच्छहु । कर्षामि=कड्डउ' । वामः=जाहु' ॥ Imperative—2nd pers sing. इ, उ, ए ॥ स्मर=सुयरि ; विलम्बस्व=विलम्बु ; कुरु=करि ॥ Future—म in addition to हि, स्स, etc ॥ भविष्यति=होसइ ॥ Cf. IV, 389-95 क्रिये=कीसु । प्रभवति=पहुवइ । जू=जूव । जूत=जूवह ; उद्धा=जोपिण्णु, जोपि । ज्ञज=जुव । जुवइ ; जुनेपि, जुनेपिण्णु । दश्=अस्स । अस्सदि । ग्रह=ग्रह । सच्=बोस । संतस=फलकिन । अनुगम्य=अन्मडवंचित । शल्पायते=खड्डकइ । गर्जति=खड्डकइ । तिष्ठन्ति=थन्ति । आक्राम्यते=वम्पिजइ । शब्दायते=खड्डकइ or खड्डकइ ॥

Phonetic Changes, Substitutes, Suffixes etc. क, ख, त, व, प, and फ when they are single and non-initial and occur after a vowel are often changed respectively to ग, घ, द, ध, ब and भ ॥ •कर=गर । सुखेण=सुधि' । शपयम्=सवधु । कथितम्=कथिदु ।

सफलम्=समलट' । Simple and intervocal ण is changed to nasalised व (i.e. वै) ॥ कमलम्=कवैलु, अमरः=अवैर ॥ र as second member of a conjunct is optionally dropped in some cases र is substituted for a member of the conjunct, व्यास=वास ॥ The final consonant of the words आपद्, संपद् and विपद् becomes इ ॥ आवइ ॥ कथम्=कैम [किवै, of Hindi कथो], किम [किवै; of Aśokan किम > colloq kabmāy, kaṁbāyā in O Bengal], किह, किथ ॥ यथा=जेम [जेवै], निम[निवै], जिह, जिथ ॥ तथा=तेम [तिवै], तिम [तिवै], तिह, तिथ ॥ यादरा=जेहु, अइस (of Hindi जैसा) । तादरा=तेहु, तइस । कीदरा=केहु, कइस । ईदरा=एहु, अइस ॥ यत्त=यैत्थु, जत्तु, जेतहे । तत्त=तेत्थु, तत्तु तेत्तहे ॥ कूत=कोत्थु, केतहे । अत्त=एत्थु, एतहे ॥ यावत्=जाम [जावै], जाक', जामहिं, जेवढ, जेतुल । तावत्=ताम [तावै], तार', 'तामहि' ; तेवढ, तेत्तुल ॥ इयत्=एवढ, एत्तुल ॥ कियत्=कैवढ, केत्तुल ॥ परस्पर=अध-रोप्पर ॥ ए and ओ, as well as उ', ह', हि' and हु' standing at the end of a metrical foot, are pronounced short. Mahārāṣṭrī न्द (< Sans न्, etc) =न्म ॥ गिन्मो ॥ अन्यादरा=अनाइस, अवराइस ॥ प्रायः=प्राउ, प्राइव, प्राइव(=वै), परिगम्ब(=वै) ॥ अन्यथा=अनु, अमइ ॥ कुतः=कउ, कन्तिहु (of colloq. kōhāntiā in Central Bengal) ॥ ततः, तदा=तो ॥ एवम्=एम्ब ; परम्=पर ; समम्=समायु, धुवम्=धुहु ; मा=मं, मनाक=मनार' ॥ किल=किर, अथवा=अहवढ, अहवा, दिवा=दिवे or दिवि ; सह=सहु' ; न हि=नाहि' ॥ पश्चात्=पच्छइ ; एवमेव=एम्बइ (of colloq. amāy, amāyā in Central Bengal; Aśokan हे मेव), इदानीम्=एम्बहि' ; एव=जि, प्रत्युत=पचलिउ ; इतः=एतहे ॥ विषयण=वुन, उक्त=वुत, वर्त्मन्=विब' ॥ शीघ्र=वहिह्ल । कलह (Prakṛito-Sans भ्रकड; of NIA भ्रगडा)=वढवल । पर्वत=ढोडार । अस्युरयसंसर्ग=विद्याल । भय=इववक । आत्मीय=अप्पण । इष्टि=देहि । गाढ=निच्छ । साधारण=सढढल । कौतुक=कोइ, कुइ । क्रीडा=कोइ । रम्य=रवण । अद्भुत=ढकरि । हे सखि=हेखि । धृक् धृक्=लुभ'लुभ । मूढ=नालिअ, नढ । नव=नवख । अवस्कन्द=दढवढ । यदि=हुहु । 'सम्बन्धीय=केर, तण । मा मैथी=मन्मीसा । यद्यदृत्ततत्त=जाइदिआ । शब्दानु-करणे=हुहुव, हुपट, कसरक(?) ॥ चेष्टानुकरणे=धुवव उइवईस ॥ अनर्थकनिपात=घड', खाइ ॥ तादर्थ्ये—[कृते=]केहि', तेहि', रेसि, रेसि', सखेण ॥ पुनः=पुणु ; विना=विणु ॥ अवययम्=अवसे', अवस ॥ एकशः=एकसि ॥ The *svārthika* क *pratyaya* is added before the *svārthika pratyayas* अ, उ (cf Beng दु, टा, टि) and उक्त । पथिकः=पन्थि । दोषाः=दोसडा । कुटी=कुहुसी ॥ Also the combinations of these *pratyayas*,

इअ, उल्लड, उल्लडअ are used as *svārthika* हृदयम्=हृदयडतं । बाहुबलं=बाहुबलुल्लडा,
 बाहुबलुल्लडत ॥ The above *pratyayas* take *i* and *ia* in the feminine gender
 गौरी=गौरही । धूलिका=धूलडिआ ॥ शुष्मदीय=शुहार (त्वदीय=तुहार ; शुष्मदीय=तुम्हार^१) ,
 अस्मदीय=अम्हार ; मदीय=महार ॥ त्व, ता=त्तण, प्पण । त्वय=इएव्वतं, एव्वत,
 एवा । मर्तव्य=मरिएव्वतं, सोढव्य=सहेव्वतं, खपितव्य=खोएवा ॥ क्खा=इ, इउ,
 इवि, अवि ॥ मारयित्वा=मारि, भङ्क्ता=भन्निउ, चुम्बित्वा=चुम्बिदि, विच्छेद्य=
 विच्छोडवि ॥ Also क्खा=एप्पि, एप्पियु, एवि, एवियु ॥ जित्वा=जेप्पि, इत्वा=देप्पियु,
 लात्वा=लेवि, आत्वा=आएवियु ॥ गत्वा=गम्पियु, गम्पि ॥ तुमुन्=एवं, अण, अणहं,
 अणहिं ॥ दातुं=देवं, कर्तुं=ऊरण, मोक्तुं=मुक्कणहं, ०हिं ॥ तुन्=अणअ ॥ मारयित्वा
 =मारणउ ॥ इव=नं, नउ, नाइ, नावइ, जणि, जणु ॥ पैतृकी=पप्पिकी ॥

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page viii, line 12	—	Read	—	Sauraseni
" 1, line 25	—	Read	—	Ārsha-Prākṛita
" 2, line 5	—	Read	—	sanskṛita
" " line 27	—	Read	—	jabān
" 4, line 7	—	Read	—	subantādarśa
" 5, line 23	—	Read	—	Prākṛita
" 8, line 7	—	Read	—	Aj-vidhi
" 9, line 13	—	Omit	—	bhagavat
" 11, line 3	—	Read	—	Ushavadāta
" " line 20	—	Read	—	heradaf
" " line 24	—	Omit	—	porānā
" 12, line 15	—	Read	—	rūhi
" 13, line 3	—	Read	—	kenasut
" " line 18	—	Read	—	ti ikham
" 14, line 27	—	Read	—	second letter
" " line 28	—	Read	—	first letter
" 16, line 3	—	Read	—	atipraga
" 17, line 8	—	Omit	—	nvorith (nvorut) and āvriti = āviti
" " line 23	—	Read	—	Afokan Add—Dīpi is essentially Persian
" " line 29	—	Add	—	Cf iktāra at Nagarjuni- konda (see III 58)
" 19, line 7	—	Read	—	pralamghana
" 15	—	Omit	—	Chāntamāla
" 21, line 5	—	Omit	—	kshudra = chulla
" 22, line 14	—	Read	—	rāsabha
" " line 24	—	Read	—	pūya
" " line 32	—	Read	—	lha
" 23, line 11	—	Read	—	shadya
" " line 12	—	Omit	—	(mukva*)
" 24, last line	—	Read	—	bramana, bamana. Ins bamana
" 25, line 5	—	Omit	—	nāślīshjaka = nāślīdhaya, and add —
" " line 15	—	Read	—	ashta = aṣṭha = aṣṭha = adha
" 26, line 15	—	Read	—	ṭh
" " line 15	—	Read	—	dhutito
" " line 19	—	Read	—	aprahariā

Page	26 last line	—	Read	—	Aśoka's <i>katayva</i>
"	27, line 5	—	Read	—	<i>vijhāyati</i>
"	30, line 6	—	Read	—	<i>anusvāra</i>
"	" line 16	—	Read	—	<i>māsvāsa</i>
"	31, line 21	—	Read	—	<i>loc cit</i>
"	" line 28	—	Read	—	<i>pakva</i>
"	32, line 20	—	Read	—	<i>vidvā</i>
"	" line 25	—	Read	—	<i>bhasiā</i>
"	37, line 2	—	Read	—	<i>bhoṭum</i>
"	" line 3	—	Read	—	<i>bhoṭuāna</i>
"	38, line 13	—	Add	—	The words are taken from Kharoshthī inscriptions and the peculiarity is due to Iranian influence
"	" line 26	—	Read	—	<i>vaidūrya</i>
"	39, line 17	—	Read	—	<i>krit</i>
"	" line 24	—	Read	—	<i>indryām</i>
"	41, line 18	—	Read	—	<i>Jaumna-yadam</i>
"	" line 29	—	Read	—	<i>luk</i>
"	43, line 5	—	Read	—	dat plu in Epigraphic Prakrit
"	" line 28	—	Read	—	avoid a word like <i>vachchhā</i>
"	48, line 24	—	Read	—	<i>aggio</i> for — <i>aggoo</i>
"	" line 29	—	Add	—	Bases (feminine) ending in a <i>Mālā</i> 1— <i>mālā</i> <i>mālā</i> , <i>mālāo</i> , <i>mālā</i> 2— <i>mālam</i> <i>mālāu</i> , <i>mālāo</i> , <i>mālā</i> 3, 5— <i>mālā</i> , <i>mālāe</i> , <i>mālāu</i> <i>mālāhi</i> , <i>mālāhum</i> 6— <i>mālā</i> , <i>mālāe</i> <i>mālāu</i> <i>mālāna</i> , <i>mālānam</i> 7— <i>mālā</i> , <i>mālāe</i> , <i>mālāu</i> <i>mālāsu</i> , <i>mālāsum</i>
"	50, line 17	—	Read	—	7, for—1
"	51, line 19	—	Read	—	(13) <i>Pums</i>
"	" line 20	—	Read	—	<i>pumunā</i>
"	53, line 12	—	Read	—	<i>bahūni</i>
"	" line 13	—	Read	—	<i>bahūhi</i>
"	" line 14	—	Read	—	<i>bahune</i>
"	" line 3	—	Omit	—	<i>mahātpena</i>
	from below				
"	" line 4	—	Omit	—	<i>mahātpā</i>

- Page 56, line 11 — Read — *imassm*
 „ 61, line 2
 from below — Read — *caurād = bi°*
 „ 63 line 2
 from below — Read — *amāo* for *amū* at the end
 „ 65, line 5
 from below — Add — and loc plu.
 „ 69, line 11 — Read — *ubhayeshām*, for—*ubhayayoh*
 „ „ line 2 from below — Add—The root *paśh* is
parasmarpadī, but has *ātma-*
nepadī use in the epics, etc
 „ 70, line 9 — Read — *paśhāmāh*
 „ 71, last line — Read — *Śravadānām trishva°*
 „ 73, line 14 — Read — *akarot*
 „ 76, line 3 — Read — *hotha* // 1st pers
 „ 77, line 16. — Read — *chitchitāyati*
 „ „ line 19 — Read — *vāpta*
 „ 78, line 9 — Read — *nwateti*
 „ „ line 13 — Read — *pāpundā*
 „ „ line 14. — Read — *thiyanti*
 „ „ line 16. — Omit — *ārabhare*
 „ „ line 19 — Read — Vedic Subjunctive
 „ 80, line 16 — Read — *adamāna*, for — *asamāna*
 „ 82, lines 17-18 — Read — *grīhnāti*, for — *grīnhāti*, and
grīhnanti, for — *grīhmanti*
 „ „ line 22 — Read — *grahītum*
 „ 83, line 4 — Read — *bibheti*
 „ „ line 14 — Read — *jānāti*
 „ 85, last line — Read — *mādyati*, for—*māda*
 „ 86, line 18 — Read — *sammillai*
 „ 87, line 8 — Omit — *gam*
 „ „ line 9 — Read — *ukkusaī*
 „ „ line 4
 from below — Read — *rugna*
 „ 89, line 3 — Omit — *prabhu = pabha*
 „ 90, line 17 — Read — *arpi*, for—*āpa*
 „ 91, line 8 — Read — *ahlankha*, for — *ahlanśva*.
 „ 94, line 16 — Read — *Paśāchī*
 „ 95, line 21 — Read — *vaggho*
 „ 97, lines 6-7. — Read — *sunusā* in line 7 after

- kasatam* in line 6
- 102, line 7. — Read — *T* of the word *putra*
- „ 105, line 3
from below — Read — *hīdha*, for—*hoda*
- „ 112, line 25 —Add note — It has been suggested
that S 3 and S 4 form
but one *sūtra* saying that
shīṭa in the word *vishīṭara* is
changed to *ṭīṭa* See *Journ*
Anc Ind Hist, Vol I, p
187.
- „ 115, line 5 — Read — *lingānām*
- „ „ line 14. — Read — *sambodhana-bahuto* *hī*
- „ 116, line 19 — Read — 25, for — 24 at the end
- „ 119, line 14. — Add note on *Dhakka*—See Sircar, *Stud*
Geog Anc Med Ind, 2nd ed, pp 298ff
- „ „ line 5
from below. — Read — *p* and *ph*
- „ 120, line 10. — Read — *ho* and *huva*
- „ 121, line 6
from below. — Read — should, for — is to
- „ „ line 2 — Read — *muddhā*, for—*maddhā*
- „ 122, line 11. — Omit bracket at the beginning and add
bracket after 'masc' at the end.
- „ „ last line — Read — *sukhena*
- „ 123, line 5 — Read — *vīpad*
- „ 124, line 1. — Read — *bāhubalam*

